

OFF THE PIGS!

The History and Literature of
the Black Panther Party

edited by

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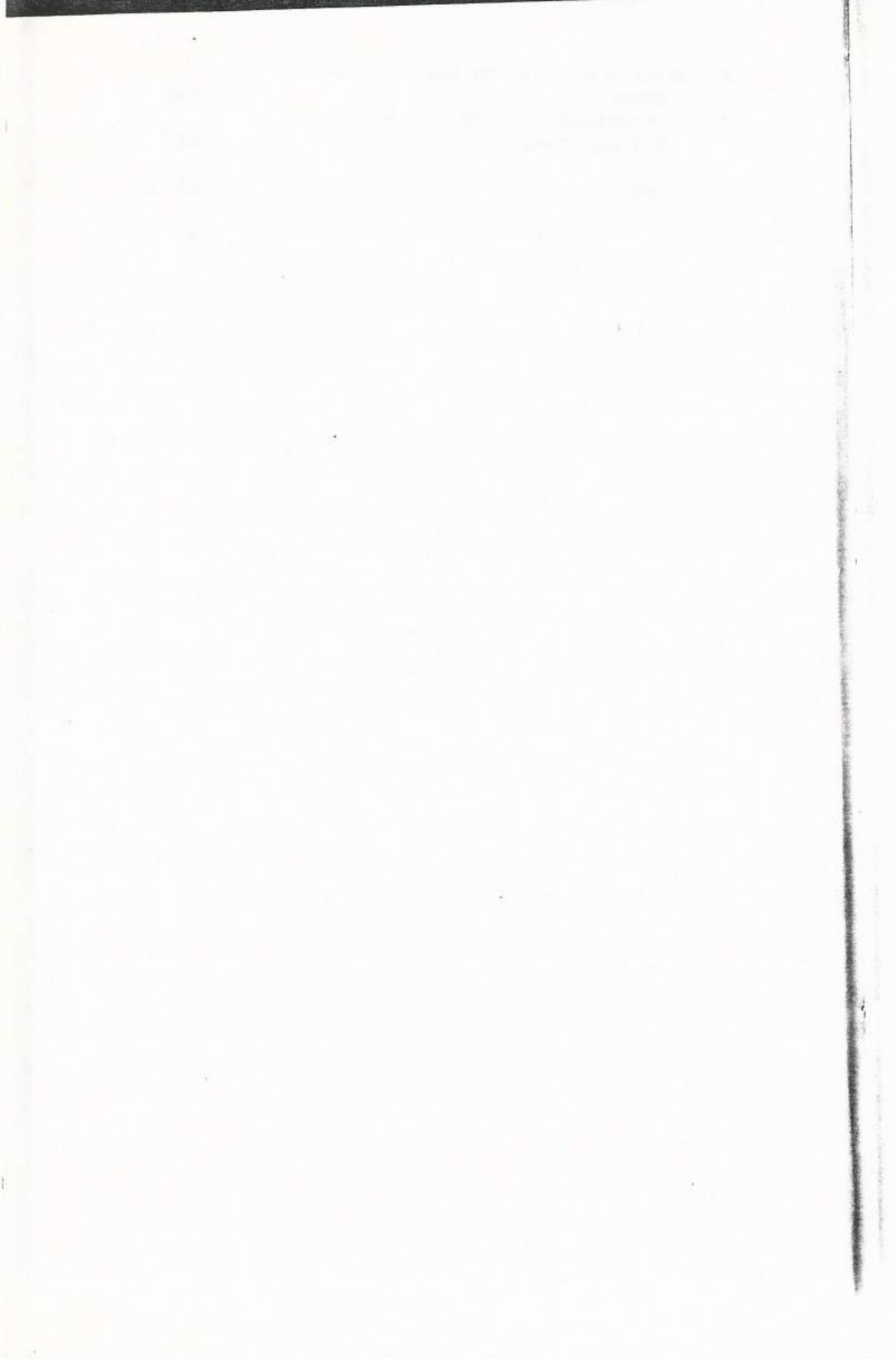
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For my 1974 summer session students
at Dalhousie University
and
my 1975 summer session students
at the University of New Brunswick



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That there is a holocaust coming, I have no doubt at all. The violent phase of the black liberation struggle is here, and it will spread. From that shot, from that blood, America will be painted red. Dead bodies will litter the street and the scenes will be reminiscent of the disgusting, terrifying, nightmarish news report coming out of Algeria during the height of the general violence right before the final breakdown of the French colonial regime.

--Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information
and Editor, The Black Panther

We are advocates of the abolition of war; we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war; and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to pick up the gun.

--Huey Newton, Minister of Defense

Victory to the people; Panther Power to the Vanguard. Death to the imperialists, to the bankers, presidents, senators, congressmen, mayors, and all the enemies of the wretched of the earth.

--George Murray, Minister of Education

Huey (Newton) is one of the most important people to have been produced by the American chaos. His fate is very important. And not one person in white America, if they read the mass media, knows anything about Huey, what produced him or what produced the Black Panther Party.

--James Baldwin

A lot of people will go up to you in a minute and say, "Why all these people being taken (to jail)? Why haven't they shot it out with some pigs?" Well, what do we say? If you kill a few, you get a little satisfaction. But when you can kill them ALL you get complete satisfaction. That's why we haven't moved. We have to organize the people. We have to educate the people. We have to arm the people. We have to teach them about revolutionary political power. And when they understand all that we won't be killing no few and getting no little satisfaction. We'll be killing 'em all and getting complete satisfaction.

--Fred Hampton, Chairman, Illinois Chapter,
Black Panther Party

They came for the Panthers and I said nothing because I was not a Panther.

They came for the black man, and I said nothing because I was not black.

Then they came for the students, and I said nothing because I was not a student.

Then they came for the liberals and I said nothing because I was not a liberal.

And when they came for me, I looked around and said nothing, because I was alone.

--Elaine Brown, Communications Secretary,
Black Panther Party, Los Angeles Branch

I hold that a little Rebellion, now and then, is a good thing and is as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical ... God forbid we should ever be 20 years without such Rebellion ... And what country can preserve its Liberties, if its rulers are not warned from time to time, that the people preserve the Spirit of Resistance. Let them take arms ... The tree of Liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of Patriots and Tyrants. It is its natural manure.

--Thomas Jefferson, 1787

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

--Thomas Paine

I. A NOTE ON THE EDITING

In Off the Pigs! The History and Literature of the Black Panther Party I draw upon more than ten years of research into radicalism and extremism in the United States. What emerges is a complex book reflecting a complex social movement. The literature of the Black Panther Party was collected during the late sixties and early seventies. A total of 727 items was collected. Forty-seven items appear in this book. The date and location of collection and the source of each document are indicated. The entire 727-item collection is available in the Special Collections of Illinois State University's Milner Library.

The history section draws heavily upon government research reports and testimony before congressional committees, especially the House Committee on Internal Security, referred to as HCIS herein. The specific sources of all material edited and written into the book are indicated in the notes to each chapter.

The bibliography was compiled at the University of Illinois library at Champaign-Urbana from September 1973 through July 1974. It includes only those items that serve to illuminate the specific topics under consideration in the book. It is, therefore, a rather select bibliography.

The expression "Off The Pigs!" is used in the title because it became something of a battle cry for the Black Panther Party. The expression has several nuances of meaning depending upon the situation and the subject of discussion but basically it means to kill white policemen and other white agents of the law. It can also mean killing other white authority figures, especially in the black community, and even black policemen, but these usages are less frequent. The reader should refer to the text for a complete discussion of the usages of the expression.

G. L. H.

II. CHRONOLOGY

1966---Black Panther Party founded by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California on October 15. Ten-point program adopted. Civil disorder in the black section of Oakland on October 19. Panther patrols organized in November to harass the police.

1967---On January 1, first Panther Party headquarters opens at 56th and Grove in Oakland. Ghetto rioting, streetfighting, arson, looting, and gunfire erupt in several cities. Newton stresses that black Americans will exert power not through conventional political channels but through their capacity for destruction as directed through the Black Panther Party. Panthers adopt Mao Tse-tung's slogan: "Power also grows out of the barrel of a gun." Black Panther Party remains a local operation with about forty members in the Oakland-San Francisco area. Panthers read Fanon's Wretched of the Earth for guidance in building a revolution. Newton recruits from disaffected, semicriminal elements in Oakland black community to develop a revolutionary cadre. Panthers carrying rifles march into the San Francisco airport to meet the plane bearing the widow of Malcolm X on February 21, anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X. Armed delegation of Panthers invades the floor of the California State Legislature on May 2 to protest a bill restricting the carrying of loaded weapons within city limits. First printed issue of The Black Panther hawked on Oakland streets on May 15. Eldridge Cleaver becomes Panther Minister of Information and editor of The Black Panther. Stokely Carmichael pledges support for the Panthers on May 25. Panthers characterize police forces patrolling inner cities as "occupying armies" and demand their withdrawal. Police begin to closely watch Panthers and make frequent arrests for weapons charges and minor traffic violations. The Panthers decide to end their public display of guns and their patrols of the police. But each Panther is required to acquire a gun and become familiar with its care and use. The California Legislature enacts a law on July 28 prohibiting the carrying of loaded firearms

on one's person or in a vehicle in any public place or on any public street. Authorities put an end to Panther patrols. By fall, gun restrictions reduce hard-core Panther members to about fifteen. On October 28, Oakland patrolman John Frey stops a vehicle in which Huey Newton is riding. Frey is killed and Newton wounded in a shoot-out. The Black Panther Party converts to an organization for the defense of Newton. Eldridge Cleaver builds alliances with black nationalists and white radicals. Alliance is built with the Peace and Freedom Party in November. Panthers hire white lawyer, Charles Garry, who represents Newton from the time of his indictment on November 13.

1968---Panthers achieve nationwide publicity and status and rapid growth. Eldridge Cleaver becomes Peace and Freedom Party candidate for President of the United States. On September 8, Huey Newton is sent to prison for a non-capital offense, "voluntary manslaughter." The Panthers refuse offers of assistance from the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party, U. S. A. Alliance between Panthers and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) announced February 17. Alliance collapses in August. A Panther delegation travels to the U. N. headquarters in July to buttonhole representatives from various African nations and Cuba, and to hold press conferences alleging that genocidal actions against black Americans include the "framed-up" murder charge against Newton. In the spring, the "major political objective" of the Panthers becomes "a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny." Ten thousand demonstrate at the Democratic National Convention during the week of August 25. Bobby Seale's participation leads to Federal conspiracy to riot charges against him. Martin Luther King assassinated on April 4. Rioting begins in more than eighty cities on April 6. Three Oakland police officers wounded, Panther Minister of Finance Bobby Hutton killed, and Minister of Information Cleaver and Chief of Staff Hilliard jailed as a result of a 90-minute gunfight on April 6. The Panthers begin to train in guerrilla warfare techniques. The Party uses the slogan "Off The Pig!" Five Panthers dead and seventeen police wounded in violent encounters by the end of 1968. The major trouble spot is Oakland. Violence also occurs in Los Angeles, Seattle, New York City, Jersey City, etc. Top Panther officers periodically arrested in Berkeley and Oakland on illegal weapons charges. White Panther Party organized in

the summer by "white mother country revolutionaries" to join the Panthers in "liberating" America. Panther national Minister of Education George Murray is Castro's guest in August. Panthers disrupt a Berkeley City Council meeting in February to demand removal of police forces from predominantly black communities and file a civil suit in May for "damages" as a result of alleged Oakland police harassment. In November, Eldridge Cleaver fails to report for a parole revocation hearing, fleeing to Cuba and subsequently to Algeria.

1969---Complete reorganization of the party structure from the national to local chapter level. Discipline instilled and national direction and coordination given to Panther activities throughout the country. Sixteen rules are added to the original ten and a program is launched to purge those who break discipline. Membership at 1,500 to 2,000 members in 25 chapters. Panthers adopt a "serve the people" theme, seeking to solve pressing community problems. Free breakfasts for schoolchildren of welfare recipients served in neighborhood churches. Free health clinics in black community established. The party begins to emphasize a political role rather than a military one. Members of US, a Los Angeles black nationalist group, kill two Panthers on the UCLA campus. Top Illinois Panther, Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton, charged with aggravated battery on March 22. Indictment of the "New York 21" in April. Panthers sponsor three-day "Revolutionary Conference for a United Front Against Fascism" on July 18. The party creates National Committees to Combat Fascism (NCCFs). Panthers develop "Liberation Schools" and "Community Political Education classes" to attempt to educate the masses to the need for a "socialist" solution to their problems. The party's top leaders publicly advocate preparations for revolutionary struggles by both blacks and whites to tear down the U.S. Government, to abolish the capitalist economic system, and to introduce socialism throughout America. In March, the Students for a Democratic Society recognize the Black Panther Party as "the vanguard" in the common struggle for an anticapitalist revolution involving the whole of American society. The national leaders of both the Black Panther Party and its SDS ally profess a commitment to Marxist-Leninist principles. Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, in Algeria, calls for the creation of a fighting "North American Liberation Front." Chief of Staff Hilliard indicted for making a public threat against the life of President Nixon. Panthers express sympathy for Arab commando forces dedicated to the destruction of the State of Israel. North Korea and Communist China publicly express

support for the Black Panther Party. In the autumn, Eldridge Cleaver negotiates with North Vietnamese representatives in North Korea in an attempt to get an agreement from Hanoi to release American prisoners of war in North Vietnam if the U.S. Government will agree to drop criminal charges against the top two Panthers, Newton and Seale. Fred Hampton shot dead by Chicago police in a December 4th raid. 348 Black Panthers arrested during the year for a variety of various criminal charges: murder, armed robbery, rape, bank robbery, and burglary.

1970---Membership declines rapidly. Trend toward small hard-core Panther chapters with "mass" support relegated to National Committees to Combat Fascism. Community information centers added to the organizational structure of the Panther Party on local levels. On August 5, Huey Newton's release from prison pending a new trial puts the party under the active command of its founder and top officer for the first time in almost three years. Newton develops term "revolutionary suicide." Panthers sponsor Black Student Revolutionary Conference at Yale University, May 16-19. On June 19, Panthers threaten race war if interracial efforts do not halt repression and genocide against black Americans. In August, Newton offers the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam "an undetermined number of troops to assist you in your fight against American imperialism." Eldridge Cleaver makes a broadcast in Hanoi urging black GIs to desert, commit sabotage, and "rip off" the commander of the U.S. forces in South Vietnam. In September, Cleaver formally opens the "International Section" of the Black Panther Party in Algiers. On September 6th, the Gay Liberation Front recognizes the Panthers "as the vanguard of the revolution." The Panthers convene plenary sessions of a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention to write a new U.S. constitution during the fall and winter in Philadelphia and Washington, D.C.

1971---A branch of the Black Panther Party is organized in San Quentin. "Intercommunal Solidarity Day" observed on March 5th to focus attention on the State of Connecticut's prosecution of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins for the torture-murder of Panther Alex Rackley in 1969. Internal strife in the party. In March, an open break occurs between two of the most prominent Panthers, Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver. Thirteen of the "New York 21," Panthers on trial on bombing conspiracy charges, expelled from the party for dissenting views. Black Panther Party increasingly torn by

internal dissension. It fades rapidly. The party ceases to have significance in American public life.

III. THE BLACK PANTHER PROGRAM

As Summarized from the Speeches of Black Panther
Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver

Jobs: Guarantee jobs to every adult American able to work --useful jobs, which build livable communities on sound ecological principles, create schools and hospitals on a human scale. (Demand job programs under community control, with jobs for the unemployed, especially black unemployed.)

Housing:

a. Protect tenants and the small homeowners victimized by exorbitant rents and taxes by setting up community controlled Rent and Tax Control Boards. (Support of actions like the San Francisco rent control/tax relief petition drive, and the Los Angeles housing marches against evictions).

b. End all "urban renewal" and "model cities" programs, designed for corporate profit, which force poor and working people out of their communities. (Support of struggles against local "redevelopment" boards.)

c. Build decent low-cost housing, for use, not for profit, in such a way that existing communities are not leveled or disrupted. (Demand community control of all projects, tenant control of public housing.)

Schools: Quality education has priority, not gimmicks like busing schemes. (Demand for neighborhood control of schools; small classes; teachers who teach and are not merely classroom cops; bilingual instruction, curriculum changes to include history of the Black and Mexican-American peoples, labor history--replace the history of rulers with the history of peoples. Support of actions like the high school students' organizing in New York City, and the new coalition of the United Federation of Teachers supporting decentralization of the schools and opposing union leadership.)

Police Control: Disband police forces of the present type. Replace them with public safety guardians living in the com-

munities where they work, serving the people, not propertied interests. (Demand for civilian review boards in the cities; abolition of "tactical squads"; an end to police use of Mace gas. Organize immediately community police control boards to observe police and collectively protest abuses. Support of actions like the "Free Huey Newton" campaigns and projected self-defense actions.)

Labor: Build a new labor movement, representing workers, not union bureaucracies that are able to make deals with management which sell out the workers. (Join rank-and-file struggles to end discrimination in the unions; oust corrupt union leaders; fight the speed-ups in factories; organize agricultural workers; improve wages and job conditions; win decent job tenure and security against lay-offs. Join the fight against government strikebreaking and "wage guidelines," and against the prohibition on strikes by government employees. Support of struggles like that of the hospital workers and rank-and-file insurgent groups in other unions.)

Taxes: Remove the tax load from ordinary people and put it on the corporations which benefit from the "help business" spending policy of the government. (Join the fight against sales and gasoline taxes, which hit the poor the hardest; against ten per cent Vietnam War surcharge; against the telephone tax.)

Health: Guarantee free medical care for every man, woman, and child. (Fight to expand and modernize the scandalously crowded public health and mental health facilities, where adequate care is impossible. Fight to end government complicity with the drug companies, which results in price fixing, exorbitant profits and inflated drug prices the poor cannot afford. There should be a National Health Program.)

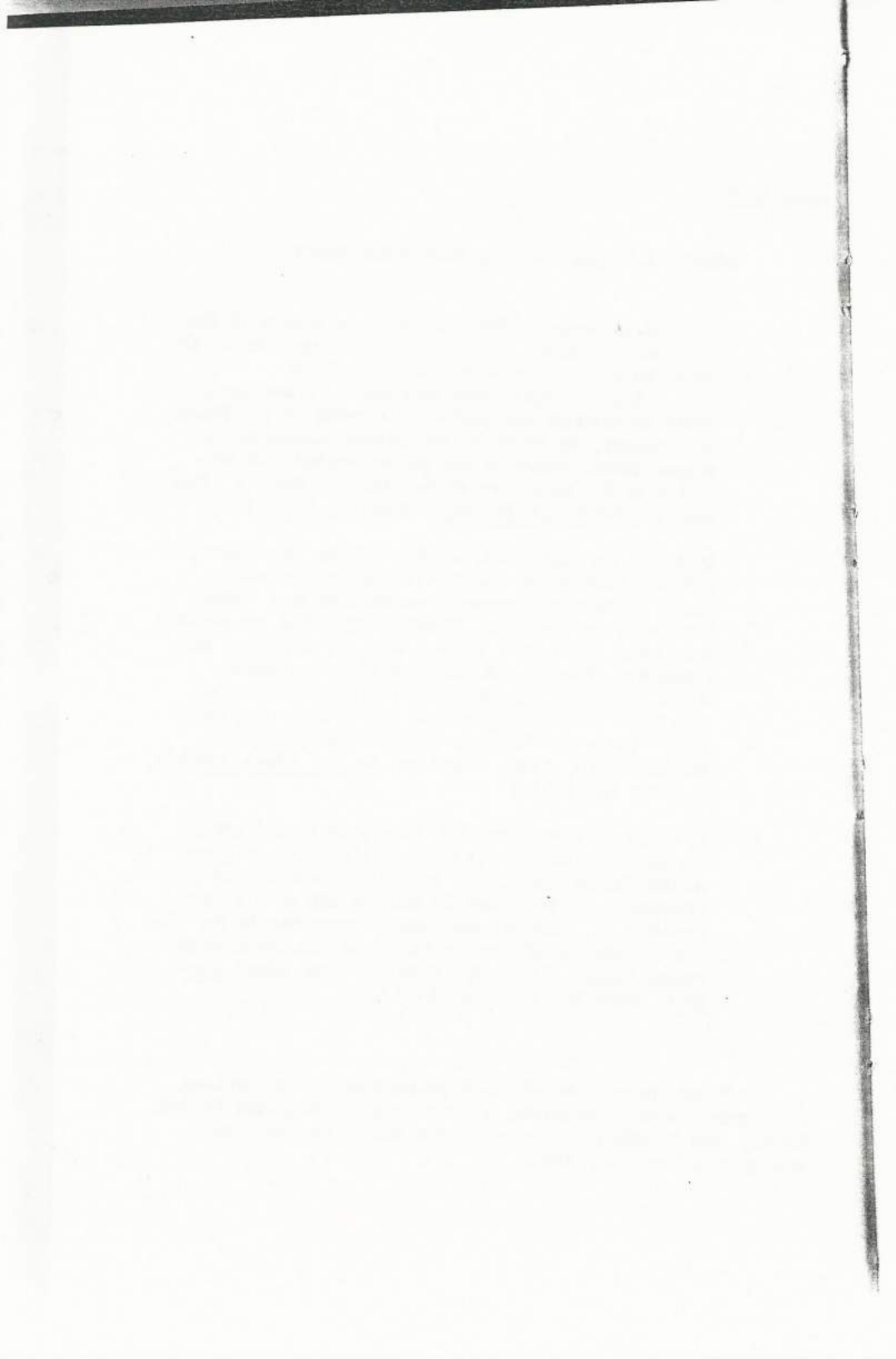
Public Transit: Establish free fares on city buses, trams, and subways. (Transit fares should be financed by taxing the corporations, not the working people.)

Prisons: Abolish the archaic, inhumane prison system and replace it with centers for real rehabilitation of those who commit crimes against persons. (Join the fight against capital punishment; against political imprisonment; for the prisoner's minimum wage. Assist prisoners in organizing for drastic reform of the penal system.)

Corporate Exploitation: Organize people's resistance to the

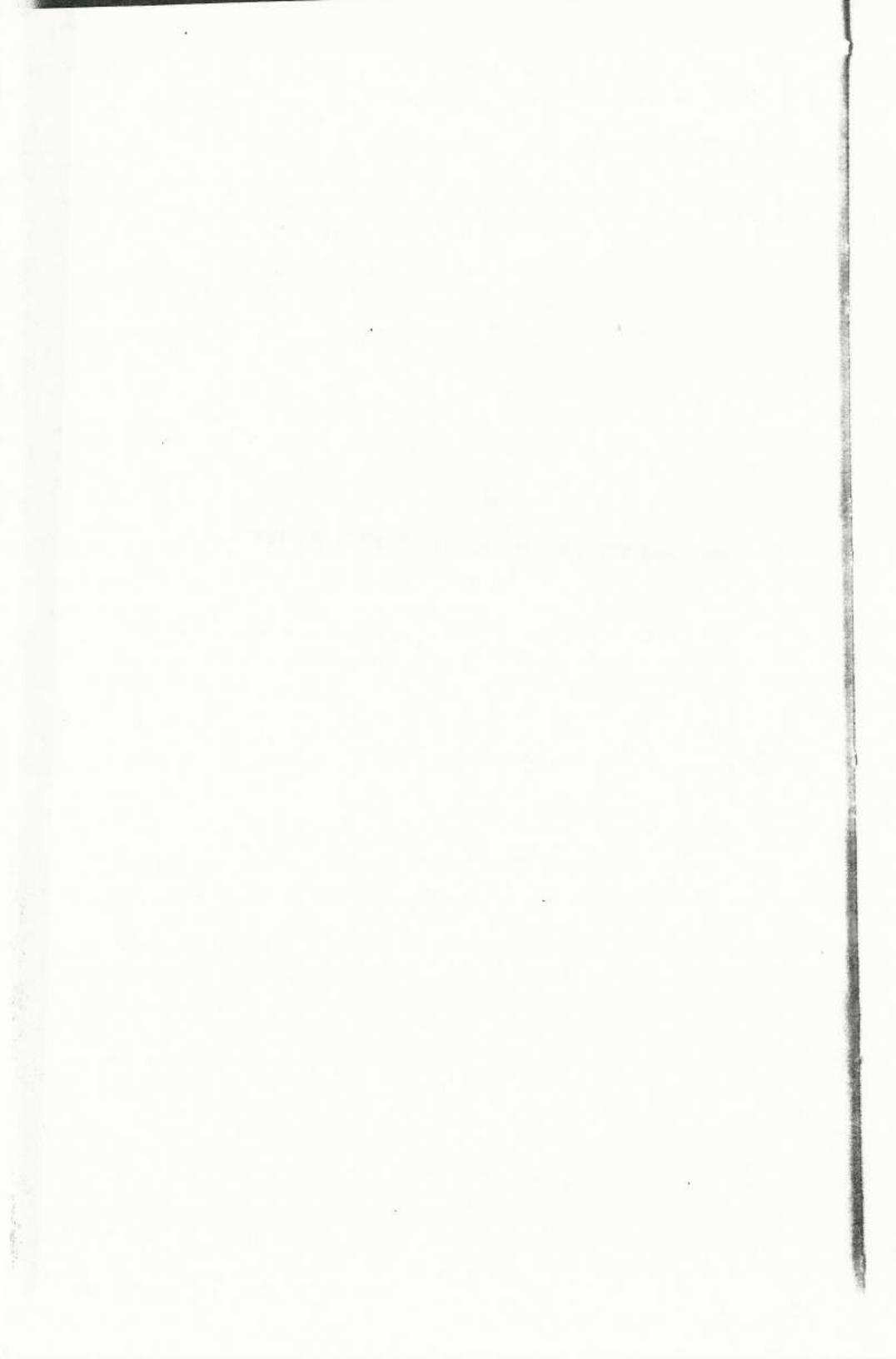
corporations and banks that control and exploit their communities.

The Draft: Abolish the Selective Service System. (Support of local draft resistance actions and organizing within the Armed Forces.)



IV

HISTORY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY



Chapter 1

ORIGIN OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

We can no longer afford the dubious luxury of the terrible casualties wantonly inflicted upon us by the cops during these spontaneous rebellions.

Black people must now move, from the grass-roots up through the perfumed circles of the Black bourgeoisie, to seize by any means necessary a proportionate share of the power vested and collected in the structure of America. (Huey P. Newton, in The Black Panther, June 20, 1967.)

In 1966, we called ourselves, that is, the Party, a Black nationalist Party. We called ourselves Black nationalists because we thought that nationhood was the answer. Shortly after that we decided that what was really needed was revolutionary nationalism, that is, nationalism plus socialism. After analyzing the phenomena a little more, we found that it was impractical and even a contradiction. (Huey P. Newton, Boston College Speech, November 18, 1970, reprinted in The Black Panther, January 23, 1971.)

In order to transform the American social order, we have to destroy the present structure of power in the United States, we have to overthrow the government.... We must do this by the only means possible ... and the only means possible is the violent overthrow of the machinery of the oppressive ruling class. (Eldridge Cleaver, The Black Panther, June 28, 1969, p. 14.)

From the streets of black neighborhoods in Oakland, California, where toughened, jobless, school dropouts feuded, fought, and "hustled" for money, the Black Panther Party emerged October 15, 1966.

Its "creators" were Huey P. Newton, 24, and Bobby Seale, not quite 30.

On the day of the party's birth, Newton and Seale wrote out a ten-point platform for a new, militant, political organization in which Newton would be top man as "minister of defense" and Seale would be second in command as party chairman. Though a co-founder, Seale likened his role to that of an apostle to Newton. Through the turbulent years since the founding, the alliance of these two has remained firm.

The name "Black Panther" was not original. In 1965, during a voter registration drive in the predominantly black counties of Green and Lowndes in Alabama, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization was formed as a third-party effort to elect blacks to county and municipal posts. The emblem for this organization was a crouching black panther which earned for the Alabama organization the nickname of the Black Panther Party.

Black nationalists in other cities copied the name and emblem. In September of 1966 a Black Panther Party was in being in New York's Harlem. In San Francisco, across the bay from Oakland, there was a Black Panther Party in existence when Newton and Seale initiated their organization with the name, initially, of Black Panther Party for Self Defense. Yet another party of similar name was set up in Los Angeles in February 1967, with the blessing of the then-prominent Stokely Carmichael. Most of these other parties were apparently short-lived.¹

At the outset, the Black Panther Party adhered to a revolutionary nationalistic program which predicated advancement of black Americans on their ability to create autonomous black communities in the United States. However, the composition and tactics of the BPP distinguished it from other organizations which at one time or another professed similar perspectives.

The Panthers' pitch was to youths in the black ghettos of large cities, primarily in the North. Tactically, the Panthers put guns in the hands of street youths who, according to psychological studies of ghetto life, have a propensity for antisocial behavior. The Panthers' eschewal of secret or underground operations favored by somewhat similar groups in the past² contributed to the worldwide publicity eventually

attained by the organization. Members of the party ostentatiously acquired rifles, shotguns, and an assortment of other lethal weapons and urged upon all black citizens a similar course of action.

The predominantly black sections of major American cities are inhabited by a sizable number of young adults who frequently exploit and terrorize other ghetto residents as well as fight in rival gangs.³ According to witnesses before the HCIS committee, these youths are often dropouts from schools, jobs, and efforts to achieve through traditional modes of advancement in American society.

In contrast to the majority, which either adjusts to or works to escape ghetto life, these delinquents--in psychological terms--are "acting out rebels," according to one analyst.⁴ Their defiant, aggressive, and ultimately self-destructive behavior, in his view, is a way in which they reject the values, aspirations, and techniques of a society which they feel has rejected them.

Panther histories portray Newton as one of the brightest and most fearless of the young toughs found in the streets of our big cities.⁵ Though born February 17, 1942, in Louisiana, Newton was raised in Oakland, California, to which his family had migrated from Louisiana during World War II. He was the youngest of seven children of a Baptist preacher who, after the move to Oakland, took a job with that city's street department.

Newton, with barely passing grades, made it through high school. Then, for the next five years, sticking to a part-time class schedule, he took some courses at a law school in San Francisco and obtained an associate of arts degree from Merritt College, a two-year junior college on the fringe of the Oakland inner city.

Newton's life outside his high school and college classes was closely intertwined with Oakland's alienated street youth. "... Huey was running around and living every day on the block with some of the toughest brothers," his biographer Seale reported, "[and] he was just as tough as the rest of them were. He'd fight it out with them and he survived in that environment."⁶

Incidents cited by Seale as evidence of Newton's "guts" included victories in fights with his own "running partners"

and a series of violent run-ins with hostile street youth which Newton survived with the aid of his fists, a wine bottle broken over an opponent's head, a machete, and gunfire.

According to Seale's account, many of the "pimps and hustlers and righteous gangsters on the block" came to respect Newton, who opposed street activity that "terrorized" other members of the black community but who was not averse to hustling at the expense of the so-called establishment. While enrolled part-time in a course at Merritt College, Seale related, Newton "used to tell me how he was plotting to make himself some money on the man. He was always involved with day-to-day survival, like the average brother on the block."⁷

From a very early age, writer Gene Marine said, Newton was a "cop hater" and, like most of his contemporaries on the street, Newton engaged in activities which led sporadically to arrests. Although he was arrested in 1963 and again early in 1964, the charges were dismissed. Later in 1964, however, he was arrested a third time, charged with assault with a deadly weapon, for a knife attack on a fellow guest at a party. Conviction on this charge put Newton in county jail for six months.

In the spring of 1966, both Newton and Seale were convicted of battery against a police officer as a result of a melee that broke out during a sidewalk speechmaking attempt by Seale. Their sentences were suspended.

After the birth of the Black Panther Party, Newton and Seale focused their recruiting efforts among the Oakland street youth, the ~~brothers on the block~~. On the street, a leather jacket spelled status, because only the most successful hustler or pimp could afford to sport such an expensive item.⁸ Because of its status, the leather jacket--black--was adopted as part of the official Panther uniform. Wearing it came to symbolize membership in or support of the Black Panther Party.

Seale vividly described the members sought by Newton:

Huey wanted brothers off the block--brothers who had been out there robbing banks, brothers who had been pimping, brothers who had been peddling dope, brothers who ain't gonna take no shit, once

they get themselves together in the area of political education (and it doesn't take much because the political education is the ten-point platform and program). Huey P. Newton knew that once you organize the brothers he ran with, he fought with, he fought against, who he fought harder than they fought him, once you organize those brothers ... you get revolutionaries who are too much.⁹

Newton preferred these street-toughened activists to college student debaters, Seale went on to explain, because it was not a time for talking; it was a time for picking up the gun.

THE PANTHERS' NATIONALIST OUTLOOK

Despite contempt for mere talkers, the founders of the Black Panther Party acknowledged that the philosophy or orientation of the new organization was a product of their campus discussions.

For years both Newton and Seale were active in Merritt College organizations of black students with a nationalistic outlook. Seale, born in Dallas, Texas, on October 22, 1936, attended the junior college intermittently from 1960 to June 1964. In the same period he was employed as a sheet metal worker and as a comedian.

When the two Panther leaders-to-be met on campus in 1962, both were involved in groups such as the Afro-American Association, whose members read and debated in an effort to formulate a "black nationalist" philosophy. At the same time, they pushed for new college courses on black history and other "black studies."

Surveys reported a growing black nationalist sentiment in the United States in the sixties, demonstrated by a proliferation of campus and community organizations in which an all-black membership either temporarily or permanently separated itself from other races to pursue disparate and sometimes conflicting goals.

Nationalist-oriented groups basically agreed on the need for a racial minority to be acutely conscious and proud of skin color or ethnic origin, in contrast to the "color blindness" often associated with an integrationist approach to

resolving the problems of minority groups in America. The variety in nationalistic approaches is exemplified by advocates of black capitalism whose slogan is "buy black"; separatists with or without the religious aspects of the Nation of Islam; revolutionary groups promoting socialist or communist solutions; and "cultural" nationalists identifying with African culture so closely that they wear African dashikis and study African languages.¹⁰

The Black Panther Party was one of approximately 30 nationalist-oriented groups in the San Francisco-Oakland area alone, a former Panther noted.¹¹

Historian Theodore Draper has traced nationalist movements among black Americans from the earliest days of the American republic. The goal of such movements beginning in the late 18th century was emigration to Africa, in contrast to modern-day nationalist groups which--when committed to separatism--usually prefer to find a "homeland" within the territorial limits of the United States.

The "resurgence" of black nationalism appeared to this historian to be one of the main currents of American history in the 1960s. An "international" outlook characterized many of the current groups, but the identification tended to be "psychological," in contrast to a desire for an African homeland expressed by earlier movements.

Some American nationalists, it was shown, were impressed by the rapid emergence of independent nations in formerly colonial Africa and, in particular, with Ghana, which in 1957 had the distinction of being the first black-governed nation to be carved out of Great Britain's African holdings. The "internationalism" of some black "nationalists" led them to identify with all of the nations of the so-called third world.¹²

After noting the differences in the programs of currently active nationalist organizations, the historian concluded that "... it is much easier to be a black nationalist than to know what black nationalism is." Draper asserted that the reason for the rise of black nationalism in the 1960s could be traced to the "specific and intransigent character of the Negro problem"--the inability of blacks and whites in America to live wholly apart or wholly together.¹³

When masses of black Americans organized and went

into motion in Southern States in the 1950s, they opposed discriminatory practices which they saw as a barrier to their integration into a predominantly white American society. Removal of substantial legal bars to a black bid for equality in the South, illustrated by the passage of such legislation as the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the subsequent floundering of the integration-oriented civil rights movement over de facto segregation existing in the North as well as the South were, according to another observer, responsible for "moving blacks on up the ladder of nationalist revolt" during the sixties.¹⁴

Black nationalism reportedly found fertile soil in many Northern cities in the United States where a growing black population and a declining white population were rapidly creating black majorities (Washington, D.C., and Cleveland, Ohio, were two early examples). The increasing de facto segregation of urban blacks led to protest movements emphasizing another set of grievances in addition to racial discrimination: deteriorating housing, unemployment and underemployment, high crime rates, inadequate education, to name a few.

VIOLENCE POTENTIALS OF THE GHETTO

The composition of a ghetto has been described as a minority of semicriminal elements at the bottom of the ladder, a minority of educated and comfortable citizens at the top, and a vast majority which feels aggrieved but, at the same time, feels helpless to effect change.¹⁵ Capable of either constructive or destructive action, many thousands from this ghetto majority in the North chose a sporadically destructive course beginning in 1963.¹⁶ On October 29, 1963, blacks in Philadelphia engaged in a civil disturbance after a black citizen attacking a policeman with a knife was fatally shot by the officer. This type of outbreak of violence, with an encounter with police often serving as a triggering incident, was repeated in growing crescendo over the next five years.¹⁷

The most serious disorder in 1964 was the six-day Harlem rioting which left one dead, 118 reported injuries, and millions of dollars in property damage as black citizens fought with New York City police and looted or damaged property. Disorders later that same summer were reported in Rochester, N.Y., three New Jersey cities, and Philadelphia.

The most destructive 1965 outburst occurred in the Watts section of Los Angeles when thousands took to the streets in a fighting, looting, and burning rampage which ended with 35 dead, hundreds injured, and \$200 million in property damage.

Periodically in 1966, street fighting, often pitting black citizens against police or fire officials, erupted in ghettos from New England to California. On September 27, in San Francisco, serious civil disorder broke out in a predominantly black section of that city after a black youth running from a car which had been reported stolen was fatally shot by a police officer. National Guard troops were called in to quell a spreading wave of arson, looting, and rock throwing at police. On October 19, an arrest of a black woman on a traffic charge triggered rioting which gave Oakland its first experience of assaults, vandalism, lootings, and fires started by Molotov cocktails.¹⁸

Only a few days earlier, Newton's Black Panther Party had been formed in an acknowledged effort to harness the energy of ghetto violence.¹⁹ Panther chief Newton noted:

The brothers in East Oakland learned from Watts a means of resistance fighting by amassing the people in the streets, throwing bricks and molotov cocktails to destroy property and create disruption.... This method has been transmitted to all the ghettos of the black nation across the country.

Sporadic and spontaneous violence among blacks, however, was costing black people dearly in terms of lives lost, injuries, and damage to their communities. "We can no longer afford the dubious luxury of the terrible casualties inflicted upon us by the cops" during these spontaneous expressions of "anger, frustration and desperation," Newton declared.

Newton interpreted the black riots as proof that black people "will not tolerate any more oppression by the racist dog police.... The black people are looking now for guidance to extend and strengthen their resistance struggle."

He offered the Black Panther Party as a "vanguard group" which would "provide leadership for the people" by teaching "the correct strategic methods" to "liberate" them from their "oppression."²⁰

REVOLUTION FOR BLACKS ONLY

We are a "revolutionary party," a "revolutionary nationalist group," Newton and Seale proclaimed in speeches or interviews promoting the advantages of the Black Panther organization.²¹

Panthers, like many other nationalists of the period, pointed to the increasing density of blacks in urban centers, with their sporadic outbursts of violence sometimes compared to a kind of "armed rebellion," as evidence that blacks were foolish to waste time trying to gain admittance into the "mainstream" of American life. Granting of the ballot had failed to bring meaningful political power, and the growing concentration of blacks in the cities was cited as proof that they were trapped in a hostile and incurably racist society.

Solutions, promoted by the Panthers and others, called upon all black Americans to become conscious and proud of race, to avoid dependent relationships with white Americans which foster self-doubt as to one's innate abilities, and to find strength and self-confidence in identifying with Africans as well as other people of color who constitute a majority of the world population. The separatist instinct, common to many nationalist movements, was reflected in the Panther proposal that blacks follow the example of colonial or dependent peoples in Africa and Asia and raise the demand for black sovereignty in the "black community" in America, sometimes referred to as "Afro America."²²

The Black Panthers advanced the line that black Americans were a kind of "colony," which was "oppressed" for both racist and economic reasons by the U.S. Government. The Government, Newton preached, did not work for the benefit or general welfare of black people at home, and it also actively sought to destroy people of color in Vietnam--a military venture Newton preferred to describe as an act of imperialism and racism rather than as resistance to communist aggression.²³

Although black Americans were widely dispersed rather than compressed into a compact territory, the Panther leaders declared that they were, nevertheless, a subjugated "nation" because of bonds due to their psychological makeup, ghetto language, concentrations in congested inner cities or in rural areas, and an economic status similar to colonial peoples.²⁴

Born and based in an urban environment, the Black Panther Party purposely avoided the "hang-up" about obtaining a homeland which had characterized some nationalist movements such as Marcus Garvey's in 1914 and the Black Muslims since 1931.²⁵ The thrust of the Panther program at its inception was to persuade black citizens that they must seek control over the communities in which they already resided. The number one plank in the Panther program declared that "freedom" meant power to "determine the destiny of our Black Community." After realization of the Panther slogan, "power to the people," blacks could then decide the nature of their institutions and their relationship with white Americans (self-determination).

For more than a year after its founding, the Panther Party agitated, principally in Oakland, in behalf of a black nationalist revolution which would eventually drive the "oppressors" out of the black community and substitute completely independent black self-government.²⁶

The Black Panthers supported the belief that growing black populations in urban centers should mean the election of more and more political representatives who should be held accountable to black communities.²⁷ However, Newton discounted the ability of black politicians to influence U.S. Government policy in behalf of their minority group. In addition to what he described as the racism of America's white majority, Newton claimed that blacks lacked the necessary power or clout to enable them to compete with the contending interests in America's pluralistic society. The Panther leader argued that, whereas the importance of agriculture and industry to the American economy made Government responsive to the wishes of farmers and industry representatives, the landless and propertyless black masses in America, largely in the lowest socio-economic scale, had no bargaining power in the political arena.

Newton's solution, to create an autonomous community or communities, would give blacks power through communal control of the land and means of production. He anticipated that administrators would be chosen by the people, who would ensure a high standard of living to all citizens and a job for every male resident able to work.²⁸

How did the Black Panther Party expect "powerless" black Americans to achieve a revolutionary and nationalistic rearrangement of American political, economic, and cultural

institutions? Newton's answer--succinctly phrased by communist China's Mao Tse-tung in a slogan favored by the Panthers--"Power also grows out of the barrel of a gun."29

POWER THROUGH THE THREAT OF VIOLENCE

The Black Panthers looked upon the mounting incidence of rioting as evidence of a grassroots rebellion by black Americans against their treatment in an "oppressive" white society.

In what the Panthers interpreted as a black minority's "resistance" to a hostile government order in America lay the clue to a source of power for what Panther leaders viewed as an otherwise powerless people. Its strength--demonstrated by the burnings, lootings, and snipings breaking out in the core of Northern cities--lay in its potential for destruction.

While the Panthers were willing to leave the exact nature of black utopia to future expressions of the will of "the people," they maintained that the genius of Newton had discovered the only "correct" strategy. Black wrath and disaffection, so unproductive and harmful when expended in spontaneous street-fighting, would be harnessed under the Panthers' guidance to blackmail the power structure into meeting demands.

Instead of engaging in aimless rioting, black Americans throughout the land should arm themselves, the Panthers maintained. This strategy would give the Nation's black minority a kind of "military" power to back up its demands of the U.S. Government, Newton said. Negotiation under threat of violence was justified as an act of self-defense against an "oppressor" government:

The only way he [a black person] can become political is to represent what is commonly called a military power--which the BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE calls Self-Defense Power. Black People can develop Self-Defense Power by arming themselves from house to house, block to block, community to community, throughout the nation. Then we will choose a political representative and he will state to the power structure the desires of the black masses. If the

desires are not met, the power structure will receive a political consequence. We will make it economically non-profitable for the power structure to go on with its oppressive ways. We will then negotiate as equals. There will be a balance between the people who are economically powerful and the people who are potentially economically destructive.³⁰

The Black Panther Party opposed the drafting of blacks into the Armed Forces of a government which the party accused of failing to protect black Americans and killing "people of color" in hostilities in Southeast Asia. Newton held out the possibility that an armed black minority's potential for destruction might also damage American military capability abroad:

If the white racist imperialists in America continue to wage war against all people of color throughout the world and also wage a civil war against blacks here in America, it will be economically impossible for him to survive. We must develop a strategy that will make his war campaigns non-profitable....³¹

Throughout the summer of 1967, Newton repeatedly stressed the potentials of the negative type of power possessed by America's black population if it would unite and arm for long-term struggle. His words appeared in a series of columns in The Black Panther as ghetto rioting spread across the country and the Nation's press recorded many days of streetfighting involving black civilians, police, and National Guardsmen. Unrest in Houston, Tampa, Atlanta, and Cleveland in June, for example, was climaxed by much more severe arson, looting, and gunfire in Newark and Detroit in July. The latter city took on aspects of a civil war battleground as the President sent in paratroopers, and soldiers with tanks and machine guns. Authorities in seeking to curb disorder, battled black rioters in what many observers called the most destructive racial upheaval in modern U.S. history.³²

Rather than engage in self-destructive violence, Newton called on blacks to arm themselves with weapons and the Black Panther ideology for a long-term struggle to get a "share of the power vested and collected in the structure of America" and to force U.S. disengagement from the third

world. Newton said the Panthers supported "any means necessary" to achieve black power, and if warfare were the outcome, black Americans had to be made to realize the superiority of guerrilla warfare techniques over their present suicidal tactic of massing in the streets.³³

That few either heard or heeded his call was evident; in the summer of 1967 the Black Panther Party remained a localized operation with some 40 members in the Oakland-San Francisco area.

One of the reasons may have been the lack of originality in the Panthers' nationalist "ideology" and the nationwide publicity then being given to a similar philosophy being expressed by Carmichael.

SOURCES OF INITIAL PANTHER IDEOLOGY

Statements and speeches by Panther leaders often resembled a not easily digestible hash--the ingredients of which were ideas and slogans culled from prominent revolutionaries, dead and alive, white and black, foreign and domestic.

As previously noted, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, as it was originally known, was officially launched on October 15, 1966, with the completion of a ten-point "platform and program" written by Newton with advice from Seale.

Ironically, the sole revolutionary authority cited in this basic Panther document was the American colonists' "Declaration" to King George III that a people must "alter" or "abolish" a government that becomes destructive of a people's inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.³⁴

Over the years the Black Panther Party has changed its gallery of revolutionary heroes, but in its formative period it appeared to be primarily indebted to Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); the late Malcolm X; and Frantz Fanon, the veteran of the Algerian revolution, also deceased.

Historically, the Newton-Seale organization has been depicted as one of many very different plants that bloomed in the late sixties, all attracted to the slogan, "black power."³⁵

The slogan was popularized by Carmichael, who assumed the chairmanship of SNCC in April 1966. An interracial group dominated by college students, SNCC was militantly active in civil rights work in the South in the early sixties. When Carmichael took over, he imposed a black-only membership and a nationalistic outlook. He told white civil rights activists to work thereafter with their own ethnic group because they made blacks feel inferior and made them accept domination by whites and wait for a mythical melting pot to operate rather than seek power as a distinct, united minority.

Under Carmichael's leadership, SNCC promoted the line--echoed by Huey Newton some months later--that the broad masses of black Americans were an "oppressed colony" within American society which should become conscious of a common African heritage and seek the same right of "self-determination" being attained by "colonized" peoples in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Carmichael wanted blacks to cut themselves off from whites by working in their own political parties, institutions, cooperatives, and the like.³⁶ Black consciousness, identity with Africa, and a feeling of communal responsibility by blacks in America would give them bargaining strength to demand participation in making decisions affecting them, and would insure their "basic daily needs" were met, Carmichael later explained. In Lowndes County, Alabama, blacks should win political control because of their majority status, he said, and in other areas where they remained a minority they should press for sharing of control.³⁷

SNCC activists, including Carmichael, worked during 1965 on voter registration drives in Alabama's predominantly black Lowndes and Greene Counties. In the summer of that year, they fostered the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, a third party attempt to win political office for blacks on county and city levels. The party emblem was a crouching black panther, inspiring the Freedom Organization's nickname--the "Black Panther" party, which this book has observed appears to have been a model for Newton and other nationalists in Northern cities.

THE HEIRS OF MALCOLM X

Patron saint of the Panther groups which sprang up in the urban ghettos of the North was the late Malcolm X.

Newton, for example, was characterized in Panther propaganda as a "child of Malcolm X" and "the ideological descendant, heir and successor of Malcolm X."³⁸ Newton in turn described the members of his party as "heirs of Malcolm."³⁹

Malcolm Little, as he was born, was once a hustler in the Harlem ghetto and a graduate of reform school and prison. In prison he was converted to the Nation of Islam, took the name of Al Hajj Malik Shabazz, and championed the Black Muslim theme of "hate the white devils." However, Malcolm X broke with the Muslims and in 1964 set out to develop his own militant, nonsectarian movement for Afro-American unity.

With messianic vigor he rallied many young black Americans to his cause; but for his assassination⁴⁰ on February 21, 1965, he seemed to be en route to a role of significant leadership in the nation's inner cities.

Before his death, Malcolm X traveled extensively in third world or developing countries while building his new Organization of Afro-American Unity. In speeches to American audiences he proposed that "oppressed" black Americans identify with the world majority of colored peoples and seek United Nations protection of rights denied by a "racist" U.S. Government. He opposed U.S. policy in Vietnam and other third world areas for its "racist" character.

Malcolm X attracted considerable publicity as a result of his derogatory views of the civil rights movement, then at its peak, and for his advocacy of a right of retaliatory violence which followers have called a right of "armed self defense." -

In a typical slap at a turn-the-other-cheek philosophy within the civil rights movement, Malcolm observed that revolutionaries in other parts of the world demonstrated that "power" will "back up" in the face of "some more power," but will not yield to smiles, threats, or "some kind of non-violent loving action."⁴¹

Arming of black Americans, Malcolm X preached, was a right guaranteed by the second amendment to the Constitution. He said he did not propose rifle clubs or battalions to go hunting for white persons, but he felt ownership of a rifle or shotgun provided a means of self-defense wherever the

U.S. Government was either "unwilling or unable" to protect lives and property. Malcolm X cited, as an example of a need for defensive arms, the then-unsolved church bombing which took the lives of a number of black children--one of many serious outbreaks of violence resulting from segregationist resistance to civil rights campaigns in the South in the early sixties.⁴²

Malcolm X likened conditions in black communities in the United States to those in colonial Algeria prior to the eight-year revolutionary struggle which finally brought it independence from France in 1962:

The same conditions that prevailed in Algeria, that forced Algeria to resort eventually to the terrorist-type tactics that were necessary to get the monkey off their backs, those same conditions prevail today in America in every Negro community.⁴³

The Algerian experience was conveyed in far more detail to young militants in the United States chiefly through the writings of Frantz Fanon, the West Indian black psychiatrist who sided with the rebels.

LESSONS FROM AFRICAN REVOLUTIONS

The outbreak of civil disorders in San Francisco and Oakland ghettos in 1966 sent local black nationalists to Fanon's book, The Wretched of the Earth, for guidance in what appeared to some to mark the beginning of violent revolution in America.⁴⁴

Acknowledging the influence of this rioting on their decision to create a Black Panther Party in Oakland, Seale and Newton were also among those who studied Fanon's work. They underlined everything that Fanon said about violence and the spontaneity of violence, how spontaneous violence educates those who are in a position with skills to lead the people to what needs to be done.⁴⁵

Newton's purpose in forming the Black Panther Party, according to Seale, was to implement some of the teachings of Malcolm X as well as some of Fanon's advice to nationalist revolutionaries based on the experiences of the Algerian rebels and other anticolonial fighters on the African continent.⁴⁶

Fanon had written that spontaneous rebellions occurring in colonial Africa, though futile and suicidal for the participants in that they were easily suppressed, nevertheless not only stimulated a sense of common cause and a national destiny among the colonized people but also helped to mobilize them against domination by "mother countries" in Western Europe.

The psychiatrist claimed that oppressed people also individually experienced a psychological transformation as a result of reliance on violence, whether the violence was real or symbolic:

At the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect. Even if the armed struggle has been symbolic and the nation is demobilized through a rapid movement of decolonization, the people have the time to see that the liberation has been the business of each and all.⁴⁷

Spontaneous violence, the African experience showed, was transformed into guerrilla warfare before some colonies achieved liberation. In such cases, the "troops" were peasants, who in the third world formed the majority of the population. These masses, however, needed to be educated and coordinated for a successful struggle and this job properly belonged to a political party and intellectuals with revolutionary principles, Fanon wrote. The psychiatrist dismissed as "unrevolutionary"--in fact, as a hindrance to nationalist revolution--the small number of colonized people in the middle and working classes who enjoyed privileges under colonial domination and remained loyal to the electoral party system of the "mother country."

The main revolutionary force in a colony's urban communities, according to Fanon, was the "lumpenproletariat"--young men who had left rural areas to crowd into shacks in the native African towns. Uprooted, with no privileges tying them to the colonial system, these lumpenproletarians had no market for their labor and turned to stealing, pimping, and alcoholism, Fanon said. He characterized this element as "one of the most spontaneous and the most radically revolutionary forces of a colonized people." Rural guerrilla fighters could count on these hooligans and semicriminal types

to form their "urban spearheads," Fanon declared, and militant and decisive action could be expected of them because they had no intention of conforming to the morality of the ruling class and had little compunction about the use of hand grenades and revolvers to take control of a city.

Newton, Seale recounted,⁴⁸ saw the street youth of Oakland in Fanon's description of the African "lumpenproletariat." Although Fanon dealt with the experiences of basically rural people comprising a majority of the population in undisputedly colonial situations, Newton nevertheless found justification for organizing a Black Panther political party which would educate and guide rebellious "urban" elements toward some kind of autonomous status even though they were dispersed and a numerical minority.⁴⁹

"Panned up in the ghettos of America ... we have been made into 'the wretched of the earth,' ..." Newton wrote in an adaptation of Fanon in The Black Panther.⁵⁰

Lessons from Algeria encouraged Newton to recruit among disaffected, semicriminal elements. A unique and most menacing aspect of the organization, however, stemmed from the way in which Newton responded to Malcolm X's call to arms.

At a time of increasingly virulent civil disorder in the cities, Newton advocated the arming of every household in black communities for the ostensible immediate and long-range purpose of providing a "self-defense" against alleged "force and brutality" inflicted on the communities by established authority. To set an example for the communities, the members of the Black Panther Party themselves openly took up arms.

Newton and other Panther leaders dramatically referred to this strategy as indicating that "The heirs of Malcolm have picked up the gun."⁵¹

NOTES

1. This section derives from material introduced into the record of nineteen days of public hearings on the Black Panther Party which the House Committee on Internal Security conducted during 1970. The reader will also find references to testimony and exhibits at hearings

on the Black Panther Party conducted in 1969 by the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations.

This book contains information from published histories of the party, such as Bobby Seale, Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton (New York: Random House, 1970); Earl Anthony, former Panther, Picking Up the Gun (New York: Dial Press, 1970); and Gene Marine, writing in Ramparts magazine, June 29, 1968.

Other groups known as Black Panthers have been discussed in Massimo Teodori, ed., The New Left: A Documentary History (Indianapolis, New York, Kansas City: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1969); The Militant, May 2, 1966, pp. 1, 3; New York Times, Sept. 13, 1966; Santa Ana Register, February 21, 1967.

2. A small, black nationalist group, the Revolutionary Action Movement, for example, operated in a clandestine fashion after its formation in 1963. Its activity dwindled following its leader's troubles with the law beginning in 1967.

3. Kenneth B. Clark, Dark Ghetto. New York, Evanston and London: Harper & Row, 1965.

In the Philadelphia ghetto in 1969, for example, 39 youths died in street gang fights, a former Black Panther from the area informed the committee (HCIS hearings on the Black Panther Party, pt. 3). The Rev. Phillip Lawson of Kansas City, Mo., also discussed the "realities" of life in the inner city (HCIS hearings on the BPP, pt. 1). See also testimony of committee investigators Richard Shaw and Thomas Simmons (HCIS hearings on the BPP, pt. 2).

4. Clark, op. cit.

5. See footnote 1.

6. In addition to biographical material appearing in exhibits 20-A and 20-B to HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, reference is made to information from Seize the Time, Marine in Ramparts, op. cit., and accounts in the San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 13, 1967; New York Times, May 21, 1967, and Washington Star, Aug. 10, 1969.

7. Seize the Time, p. 25. The term "man" in this context alludes to the "establishment," i.e., to make money at the establishment's expense.
8. See Anthony, Picking Up the Gun.
9. Seale, Seize the Time, p. 64.
10. A poll in 15 American cities, made public July 27, 1968 by the President's Commission on civil Disorders, found six per cent of the blacks surveyed (200,000) favored a separate black "nation" in this country; 18 per cent favored black ownership and operation of stores in black neighborhoods; 70 per cent favored a "buy black" policy; and 42 per cent favored study of an African language. (U.S. News and World Report, Aug. 5, 1968.)
11. Anthony, op. cit.
12. Third world in the broadest sense refers to the new or underdeveloped nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The term originated from the tendency of many of these nations to avoid alignment with the two contending blocs of communist and noncommunist nations. Underdeveloped nations often collectively constituted a third bloc at United Nations and other international conferences.
13. The historical antecedents of a current "resurgence" of black nationalism and the reasons for the phenomenon were discussed by Theodore Draper, The Rediscovery of Black Nationalism (New York, Viking Press, 1970).
14. See discussion by Lerone Bennett, Jr., Professor of black studies, Northwestern University, and senior editor of Ebony, in Ebony, August 1969.
15. Clark, op. cit.
16. A Presidential commission appointed to investigate civil disorders in the cities during 1967 reported that the typical rioter was not a hoodlum or habitual criminal but a teenager or young adult, a high school dropout, underemployed or menially employed, proud, extremely hostile to both whites and middle-class Negroes

and distrustful of the political system and political leaders. (Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, New York Times Company, 1968, p. 111.)

17. Riot survey, 1961 to Sept. 25, 1966, prepared by Legislative Reference Service of Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
18. Ibid.
19. Huey Newton, "In Defense of Self Defense," The Black Panther, June 20, 1967.
20. Newton discussed the strategy of the Black Panther Party in a series of articles in The Black Panther, the party newspaper, on June 20, 1967, July 3, 1967, and July 20, 1967, from which these quotations are taken. The full text of these Newton articles was inserted in the record of hearings on the Black Panther Party held in June 1969 by the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations (hearings on Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders, pt. 19).

Seale, in his historical account, Seize the Time, also described the impact of ghetto rioting: "... The violence of many riots that occurred before the Black Panther Party was a strength in producing an organization like the Panther Party and also made other organizations more determined to seek a better, more revolutionary ideology to guide the people. They could see that so many people were getting killed just because they were without organization." (pp. 37, 38)
21. See Newton interview, San Francisco Chronicle, April 13, 1967, and Seale speech at Oakland rally, February 17, 1968, in The Black Panther, March 16, 1968.

Kits for the "political education" of members of Panther chapters, later sent out from national Panther headquarters, defined "revolution" as "a complete or drastic change of any kind." "Oppression" was "unjust or cruel exercise of authority or power." (HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 3, exhibit 11.)
22. Newton discussed the "colonial" status of America's black population in The Black Panther, May 15, 1967, pp. 3, 4.

23. See also Newton column, "In Defense of Self Defense," in The Black Panther, March 16, 1968.
24. Bobby Seale, interview, The Movement, February-March, 1970.
25. Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther minister of information, in The Black Panther, Mar. 16, 1968.
26. Philosophy of Panthers was described to the committee in an interview with a former Panther who was among the initial members of the organization. The interview was conducted in Oakland, Calif., by committee investigators Richard Shaw and Stuart Pott. See Hearings on Black Panther Party, pt. 4, Ex. No. 8.
27. Excerpts from a then-forthcoming Black Panther pamphlet, in The Black Panther, May 15, 1967, p. 7.
28. Newton in The Black Panther, May 15, 1967.
29. The Des Moines chapter of the Black Panther Party filed incorporation papers with the State government announcing its dedication to the nonprofit cause of promoting and developing "black power in the community which means the economic, political and cultural control of the black community by black people." (Exhibit 9 to HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4.)
30. Newton in The Black Panther, May 15, 1967, p. 4.
31. Ibid.
32. The Newark affair, July 12-16, 1967 took the lives of 21 black civilians, including women and children, one white detective, and one white fireman. The Detroit tragedy, extending from July 22-27, 1967 cost 43 lives, 33 of them black, and the brunt of violence among white persons fell on public employees, chiefly policemen and firemen. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders stated 164 civil disorders were reported in the first 9 months of 1967. The Commission found civil disorders involved "Negroes acting against local symbols of white American society, authority and property in Negro neighborhoods," rather than against white persons per se.

33. Newton in The Black Panther, June 20, 1967; July 3, 1967; July 20, 1967.
34. Quotations from the Declaration of Independence of 1776 were inserted in the Panther platform and program to indicate the Panthers' philosophy in advancing their specific demand for satisfaction of black Americans' needs for "land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace."
35. Teodori, op. cit., p. 62.
36. SNCC Position Paper, Spring 1966, reprinted in Teodori, op. cit., pp. 271-275; New York Times, May 22, 1966, and Aug. 5, 1966.
37. Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, Black Power, The Politics of Liberation in America (New York: Vintage Books, 1967).
38. The Black Panther, Nov. 23, 1967, and Eldridge Cleaver, BPP minister of information, in Ramparts, June 15, 1968, p. 20.
39. The Black Panther, July 3, 1967.
40. Alex Haley, The Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove Press, 1964-1965). Two of the three men sentenced in the shooting were acknowledged members of the Nation of Islam with which Malcolm X was feuding.
41. Quoted in The Black Panther, July 20, 1967, p. 8.
42. Speech on "The Ballot or the Bullet," Cleveland, Ohio, Apr. 3, 1964, quoted in The Black Panther, May 15, 1967, p. 7.
43. Quoted in The Black Panther, June 20, 1967, p. 5.
44. Born in Martinique and educated in France, Fanon died of cancer in a hospital in Washington, D.C., in December 1961. His book, The Wretched of the Earth, was published in France in 1961 and an English translation, published by Grove Press in New York in 1963, is referred to here.

Former Panther Earl Anthony described the popu-

larity of the book among young nationalists in the San Francisco area who considered it a "road map" for revolution (Picking Up the Gun, pp. 1-3).

45. Seale, Seize the Time, p. 34.
46. Ibid., pp. 25, 26, 30, 31, 36.
47. Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, p. 94.
48. Seale, Seize the Time, pp. 30-33.
49. The Black Panther leaders borrowed from many revolutionary experiences and claimed a place in the history of revolutionary movements due to their unusual combination of strategies.
 Seale declared, for example, that "Marx and Lenin would probably turn over in their graves if they could see lumpen proletarian Afro-Americans putting together the ideology of the Black Panther Party. Both Marx and Lenin used to say that the lumpen proletariat wouldn't do anything for the revolution."
 Marx and his followers predicted the outbreak of socialist revolutions, relying on support from propertyless wage laborers (the proletariat). Marx held that the lumpenproletariat (utilizing the German word for scoundrel--lumpen--and referring to semicriminal elements and riffraff at the bottom of the economic scale) were an actual danger to revolutionaries because they were easily bribed. (The Manifesto of the Communist Party.)
50. The Black Panther, June 20, 1967.
51. Newton in The Black Panther, July 3, 1967.

Chapter 2

BLACK PANTHER ACTIVITIES IN THE EARLY YEARS

The racist dog oppressor fears the armed people; they fear most of all Black people armed with weapons and the ideology of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense.... Black people are held captive in the midst of their oppressors. There is a world of difference between thirty million unarmed, submissive Black people and thirty million Black people armed with freedom and defense guns and the strategic methods of liberation. (Huey P. Newton, in The Black Panther, June 20, 1967.)

The grandiose mission envisioned by its founders was in sharp contrast to the relatively narrow scope and minuscule membership of the Black Panther Party in its first year.

From the outset, however, the leaders compensated for many of their limitations by their flair for the dramatic and an ability to exploit the resources of the communications media. (For example, the black population in the United States in 1967 was 21.6 million--not 30 million as Newton claimed.)

During his last term at Merritt College in the spring of 1966, Newton tried unsuccessfully to persuade other campus black nationalists to include in a Malcolm X birthday rally a group of street youths openly carrying arms. Newton reportedly suggested that the resulting message that nationalists were arming "to defend the people" would be certain to reach the black community of Oakland through the press coverage received.¹

Opposition of other college nationalists to weapons and to use of joint funds for bail for Newton and Seale² helped convince the two that they should not depend on the campus

but concentrate on street youth when they formed the Black Panther Party the following autumn.

Within days after civil disorder broke out in predominantly black sections of San Francisco in September 1966, Newton and Seale began writing a "platform and program" for the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. Seale emphasized later that they had composed a kind of declaration of independence for black Americans in a Government antipov-erty program center in Oakland, which had employed the two men when summer programs were started in the city. The Panther leaders officially launched their party in mid-October by selecting their party titles and running off about 1,000 copies of their program at night on the antipov-erty center's mimeograph machine.³

"Minister of Defense" Newton, with advice from "Chairman" Seale, composed a program listing "basic needs" of black Americans and their own ideas for satisfying them.⁴

To provide "land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, and peace," the Panthers proposed that there be freedom for blacks to determine their own "destiny" in their own "community," which would include community control of the means of production if full employment or a guaranteed income were not possible; community cooperatives if sufficient housing could not be furnished; and a cash payment as restitution for slavery. Education should include black studies. Exemption of blacks from military service was demanded, as well as the freeing of all members of the minority in jails. Military duty was not owed to a government which did not protect black Americans and which victimized colored peoples abroad, according to the Panther program. Criminal convictions, furthermore, were not recognized as long as juries were not selected from the defendants' own black community.

The key Panther plank, around which most of the party's activity would focus, was a demand for an end to "police brutality and murder of black people."⁵ The Panther program declared:

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the

United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

PATROLLING THE POLICE

The Panther's first activity was to set an example for the black residents of Oakland. They acquired weapons and began patrolling the police, posing as the ostensible protectors of black citizens.

Newton later explained that he considered "physical activities" the key to making his party known, respected and an influence among black community residents who were themselves activists and "basically not a reading community." The Panthers intended to teach that the gun was a tool of black liberation. He was optimistic that a vanguard group, no matter how small, could guide even "millions" of persons through the proper "physical activities" and "the mass media."⁶

Civil disorder flared in the predominantly black section of Oakland on October 19, 1966, shortly after the Panther program was composed. Panther patrols did not get underway until late November 1966 when Newton and Seale each acquired a gun from a Japanese radical (later inducted as Panther minister of education). Thereafter, armed or unarmed, and sometimes merely on the way to a social event, Newton, Seale, and companions sporadically tailed police officers on patrol duty. From one to five Panther vehicles would engage in such patrols.⁷

This "police alert patrol"⁸--as Newton termed it--was a Panther adaptation of the volunteer groups of inner city residents (sometimes referred to as community alert patrols) which often functioned during civil disturbances to discourage acts of violence by fellow residents.⁹ Unlike the community patrols after which they were patterned, the Panther patrols had the effect of harassing the police.

Open carrying of loaded weapons was not expressly forbidden by California law. Newton's research into the law and instructions to Panthers on how to handle weapons and ammunition within legal limits enabled the patrols to function for many months before authorities adopted measures putting an end to the practice later in 1967.

The equipment of a Panther patrol, in addition to firearms, included cameras and tape recorders. If a police officer stopped a ghetto resident for questioning or search in sight of a Panther patrol, the militants might photograph or record the encounter, advise the black citizen of his rights, intercede in his behalf, and, in the case of an arrest, follow along to the police station to see that due process was observed without "brutality."¹⁰

The Panther Party's patrol of police, like its program, tapped grievances found to be commonplace in black communities where residents were often in violent upheaval in the mid-sixties. Hostility toward police, a Presidential commission of inquiry reported, was widespread in such areas, where not only actual misconduct but even acceptable law enforcement procedures were subject to interpretation as part of a police campaign to "brutalize" the residents.¹¹

Some of the Panther Party's earliest recruits acknowledged in HCIS testimony being attracted by activity with the immediate purpose of protecting residents from possibly improper police behavior. Several declared that their upbringing in city slum conditions, with arrests for wrongdoing from time to time, created resentment and even hatred against police forces who appeared to them to be unjustly harsh. For street youth who long viewed police as the "enemy," the Panther Party offered an action program which also cast police in an enemy role.¹²

CONCENTRATION ON GUNS

Although the Panther Party attracted increasing publicity as a result of these tactics, there was no rush of recruits to join the party's ranks.

On New Year's Day of 1967, Newton and Seale opened the first Panther Party headquarters in a \$150-per-month storefront building at 56th and Grove in Oakland. Panther leaders expounded the merits of their nationalist platform and program in street talks, in classes, at Panther headquarters, and in appearances on area college and high school campuses.

Weapons were a major interest in this early period. They were acquired as rapidly as possible for the half dozen to dozen party regulars whom Newton and Seale managed to enlist in the first few months after the party's founding. At

party headquarters the recruits were drilled in technical and legal details involved in the handling and use of guns.

For the purpose of "educating the masses of black people about the necessity for guns," as Seale expressed it, the Panthers ostentatiously carried an assortment of rifles, shotguns, pistols and ammunition, not only on police patrols but also in their routine auto travels. Panthers with arms on their person also appeared at meetings, speaking engagements, and even at social events.

The failure of larger numbers to flock into the Panther Party is attributable, at least in part, to this concentration on guns. The Panther founders acknowledged the extreme risk in the constant confrontations between armed Panthers and armed law enforcement authorities and a consciousness that their tactics resembled Russian roulette.¹³

When Newton and Seale appeared with weapons at a social gathering, frightened fellow guests summoned police to evict the Panthers, Seale reported. A carload of armed Panthers was occasionally halted by Oakland police with a request to examine the Panther weapons, Seale also recalled. Newton reportedly responded by jacking cartridges into the firing chamber of his rifle or shotgun, hurling epithets at the police officers, and defying them to draw their guns at the expense of their lives.

A similarly tense situation arose with San Francisco police officers in February 1967 as Newton's Panthers functioned as an honor guard for Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X. Seale described the police initiation into the tactics of Newton and his Panthers as follows:

It was a very tense scene. This was one of the first major confrontations and we were almost into a righteous shootout.... But I knew how Huey felt. If just one of them had gone for his gun, he would blast him, because Huey had his gun at a 45-degree angle to the ground and he was ready. He had the barrel of the gun in his left hand. His finger was on the trigger, he had knocked the safety off, and had jacked a round off into the chamber. It kind of shook the cops when Huey jacked that round off in that chamber.¹⁴

This confrontation, resolved without violence,

climaxed a day of Panther dramatics in carrying out escort duty for the guest of honor at a ceremony actually arranged by other groups on the February 21 anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X. The Panthers earlier had created a stir by marching with rifles into the San Francisco airport to meet the plane bearing the widow of Malcolm X. The dramatic effect of the armed group was multiplied by a Panther show of seriousness and discipline and by the uniform attire they had adopted--blue shirt, black leather jacket, black pants, and black beret.

The Panthers claimed that on this and subsequent occasions they were providing "security" against police interference. Equally important to Panther leaders, however, was the dramatic effect, which would draw public attention to their "self-defense" forces.¹⁵

A month after the San Francisco drama, Newton's Panthers found an issue in neighboring Contra Costa County, which returned them to local headlines. The Panthers exploited the April 1, 1967 fatal shooting of Denzil Dowell, a 22-year-old Richmond, California, man during a reputed robbery attempt, as a demonstration of police "brutality" against black Americans, citing the incident as evidence of a need to create additional armed self-defense squads such as the Panthers.¹⁶

The death of Dowell was followed by a series of street corner rallies in Richmond, at which uniformed and armed Panther leaders exhorted black citizens to arm themselves and passed out applications for membership in the Panther Party. With the cooperation of Dowell family members, Newton and Seale also led armed protest delegations to law enforcement offices in Richmond and at the Contra Costa County seat. A putoff at the county sheriff's office on April 21, 1967, was followed four days later by a mimeographed Panther denunciation of law enforcement and an appeal for more armed groups in black communities.¹⁷

PANTHERS ATTAIN NATIONAL PUBLICITY

The spotlight of local publicity which the Panthers received as a result of their intense activity over the Dowell case swelled to nationwide proportions on May 2, 1967. On that date, as an admitted public relations gimmick, Newton sent a delegation of 30 Panthers to the State capitol in Sacramento.

The Panthers have claimed that a county sheriff, trying to "pass the buck" in the Dowell case, suggested the militants seek redress from the California State Legislature. Newton's decision to send an armed Panther group to the legislature on May 2, however, was precipitated by a newspaper notice that floor discussion was scheduled in the assembly that day on the bill of an Oakland assemblyman restricting the carrying of loaded weapons within city limits.

Chairman Seale and his companions, most of them armed with loaded rifles, shotguns, and pistols, proceeded to Sacramento where Seale read an "executive mandate" on the capitol steps. Thereafter, leading his group into the building, Seale, surrounded by newspaper and television representatives, found his way onto the restricted floor of the assembly before guards evicted him. A short distance away, Seale and 25 other Panthers were arrested. Six of them, including Seale, subsequently received jail sentences. Seale was finally convicted of violation of section 9051 of the Code of California, which prohibits "the willful disruption of a State of California legislative body assembly," and was sentenced to five months in jail. This escapade resulted in national publicity for the Panthers and Newton's "executive mandate."

The mandate charged that restrictions on weapons were part of a premeditated program by a "racist" American "power structure" to repress, torture, murder, and commit "genocide" against black citizens. Cited as additional evidence of the plot were increased police patrols and the renovation of "concentration" camps used to detain Japanese Americans during World War II.¹⁸ The mandate asserted that the program of "genocide" was being carried out by police agencies, domestically, and by U.S. soldiers fighting abroad in Vietnam. The mandate called on black Americans to fight against extinction by arming themselves.¹⁹

The Sacramento affair led to interviews of Newton by major metropolitan dailies from as far away as New York. A San Francisco paper quoted the Panther founder's view that "The only solution for colonized people is a revolutionary transition," and while "bloodshed" was not "necessary," revolution "often leads to it."²⁰

The year 1967 was when the Panthers achieved national publicity, not only because of the dramatic tactics of Newton and Seale but because of the addition of two

prominent militant blacks to the team: Stokely Carmichael and Eldridge Cleaver.

On May 25, 1967, support for the Panthers was pledged by Stokely Carmichael, the former SNCC chairman who was still in the limelight as a result of his militant cross-country speaking tours. At a San Francisco rally to raise legal defense funds for Panthers arrested for their intrusion into the State legislature, Carmichael praised the Panthers for badly frightening an "anti-black" American society. Fear, he explained, was a useful stimulus in the absence of love.²¹

The Black Panther Party reciprocated on June 29, 1967, by issuing an "Executive Mandate No. 2," "drafting" Carmichael to serve as a Panther field marshal for the eastern half of the United States. The Panther draft was an obvious exploitation of Carmichael's highly publicized defiance of the military draft. Panther leaders expressed anger that newspaper and television representatives refused to publicize the Panther "draft," however, after Panther Chairman Seale called a special press conference at the San Francisco Hall of Justice.²²

In the aftermath of Sacramento, the Panthers staged street rallies to bring the Panther program to black communities in northern California not previously reached in the Bay area.²³ On May 15, 1967, the first printed issue of The Black Panther was hawked on the streets by Oakland Panthers. The editor of the tabloid newspaper, issued once or twice a month thereafter in 1967, was the new Panther minister of information, Eldridge Cleaver.

Although his formal association with the Black Panther Party around April 1967 was not immediately made public, Cleaver brought talent and status to the party. The 31-year-old Arkansas native, whose troubles with authorities began at the age of 12 and his prison experiences at the age of 18, wrote a series of essays in prison which were published in book form under the title Soul on Ice.

Paroled in December 1966 from his latest prison sentence for assault with intent to commit murder, Cleaver was writing for Ramparts in San Francisco and trying to revive Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity when he met the Panthers at the Malcolm X memorial in February 1967. Cleaver's probationary status made him cautious

about advertising his official association with the gun-carrying Oakland militants.²⁴

It was Cleaver who devised the pose Newton assumed for a photograph which appeared in the Panther newspaper on May 15, 1967 and was thereafter widely circulated in poster form.²⁵ This picture showed Newton, a shotgun in one hand and a spear in the other, seated in a wicker chair, and in the background, African shields and a pelt.

Cleaver also contributed his talents on the Panther lecture circuit, and when both Newton and Seale were in jail later in the year, he took over supervision of the party.²⁶

Panther "captain" for San Francisco, Earl Anthony, used columns in early issues of The Black Panther to urge black Americans to seek control of the "politics" in core cities. The Panther Party itself also endorsed legal steps to incorporate the black community of North Richmond beyond Richmond, California. The party described local control of police forces, schools, taxes, and Federal antipoverty funds as a step toward "self-determination."²⁷ Newton's columns deplored the waste in escalating inner city riots that summer, and called for patient organizing for a black nationalist revolution in the future.²⁸

THE POLICE AS AN OCCUPATION ARMY

The main target of the Panthers' activity and growing propaganda apparatus, however, continued to be the police. Panther leaders used the many public forums provided for them after the May 2 incident to define their position on the role of police officers in the black community.

Both Newton, interviewed by a New York Times representative, and Seale, speaking on the Berkeley campus of the University of California, were quoted as being personally resolved to "kill" any police officer caught "brutalizing" a black person.²⁹ Newton likened a Panther to the animal after which he was named: a panther will not attack anyone, but when cornered he will strike out and not stop until the aggressor is wiped out "thoroughly, wholly, absolutely and completely."

Newton characterized police forces patrolling inner cities as "occupying armies" which--according to the

Panther concept of a black colony--"oppressed blacks for the interests of a selfish imperial power," just as U.S. armies oppressed other people of color in Southeast Asia.³⁰

The Panther defense minister emphasized that police recruited from an "oppressor race" had an intimidating effect on black communities. The Panthers were raising the demand that:

The racist dog policemen must withdraw immediately from our communities, cease their wanton murder and brutality and torture of black people, or face the wrath of the armed people.³¹

Although Panther leaders claim they have always rejected hostility toward whites as a racial group, militant nationalism led to such lapses as that of Minister of Culture Emory Douglas in the third issue of The Black Panther, June 20, 1967. A front page poem by Douglas, illustrated with a drawing of an armed guerrilla warrior, contained the lines: "Painting a Liberation scene, too. Black People killing whities. It's about time. It's Four Hundred Years overdue."

The "white cop is the instrument sent into our community by the Power Structure to keep Black People quiet and under control," the initial mimeographed issue of The Black Panther had asserted in the same vein.³²

Newton proposed that police officers in the ghetto "should be the people of the community in uniform."³³ Bobby Seale, in less temperate language before students on the Berkeley campus, charged that police forces included John Birchers and Nazis and demanded, "Why don't cops who patrol our community live in our community? I don't think there would be so much police brutality if they had to go and sleep there."³⁴

The Black Panther issue of May 15, 1967 introduced the first cartoon likening police officers to pigs. A lifelike pig bore the simple caption, "Support your local police." Then the June 20, 1967 issue printed the first of many cartoons by the Panthers' "minister of culture," Emory Douglas. His drawings depicted pigs in policeman's attire engaged in various forms of physical abuse of black citizens.³⁵

Newton's "Executive Mandate No. 1" to the California Legislature pledged that the Panther Party would continue to promote the arming of black Americans whatever legislative measures might be taken to discourage them.

Publicity on these Panther attitudes at the beginning of one of the longest and hottest summers in American urban centers helped to charge the atmosphere in Oakland. Any contact between police officers and Panthers at this time meant a "situation so tense and explosive that any questionable move or verbal exchange may precipitate a shootout," Anthony claimed.

In their recollections of this early Panther activity, Anthony and Marine charged that police authorities responded with a close watch on the Panthers and frequent arrests not only on weapons charges but also for minor traffic violations or on suspicion of implication in more serious crimes. Such pressures, according to Anthony, led to a Panther decision after Sacramento to end their public display of guns as well as their patrols of the police.³⁶

A permanent curb on Panther gun displays in the northern California area was assured on July 28, 1967, when the California Legislature enacted a law prohibiting the carrying of loaded firearms on one's person or in a vehicle in any public place or on any public street.³⁷

EDUCATION IN BLACK NATIONALIST POLITICS

The swing away from military posturing to "political" work through the printed and spoken word in the summer of 1967 was the first of many pragmatic readjustments in Panther Party strategy.

As previously noted, Panther leaders looked at flaming, riot-torn inner cities in the long, hot summer of 1967 as seed beds for a future organized revolution for Afro-American autonomy. Their call to arms for black Americans was part of this long-range aim.³⁸ A former Oakland Panther was convinced that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense was correctly named in that it endorsed retaliatory but not aggressive acts of violence at that time.³⁹

The nationalist-oriented philosophy of Newton was propagated in issues of The Black Panther in 1967. Newton's

statements included epigrams of the Chinese Communist Party chairman Mao Tse-tung which coincided with the Panthers' own propensity for guns.

For example, Newton echoed Mao's dictum that "political power grows out of the barrel of the gun," and the following Maoist saying which eventually was adopted as a Panther Party "motto":

We are advocates of the abolition of war; we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war; and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to pick up the gun.⁴⁰

In this early period, Panther leaders had little interest in Mao's ideology or in any communist solutions. Seale, in fact, boasted that their chief interest in a so-called red book of Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung early in 1967 was their discovery that they could raise money for guns by selling the booklets to white "radicals and liberals."⁴¹

With curbs on their patrols and gun displays, the action-oriented Panther organization reached a low ebb by the fall of 1967.⁴² Hard-core members were variously estimated at from six to 15 members.

The course of the party took an entirely new turn, however, in the early morning hours of October 28, 1967, when Oakland patrolman John Frey stopped a vehicle in which Newton was riding. A shootout ensued in which Patrolman Frey was killed, a back-up police officer was wounded, and Newton was sent to the hospital with bullet wounds in his stomach and a murder charge over his head.⁴³

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense quickly converted to an organization for the defense of Newton. It adopted an increasingly belligerent stance toward governmental and law enforcement authorities and Panthers engaged the police in shootouts. With the help of new allies, it also succeeded in becoming a nationwide organization during 1968.

ESTABLISHING ALLIANCES

With its two top officers in jail,⁴⁴ the Panther Party was piloted onto its new course by Minister of Information

Eldridge Cleaver. He is credited with building supportive alliances with black nationalists on the one hand, and white radical organizations on the other, despite a strained relationship between the two camps in this period.

The Panther Party was to rely most heavily, and for the longest period of time, on its coalition with white leftists who were prized for their administrative machinery and know-how for generating publicity and funds. The possession of a sound truck--which the Panthers thought would be useful in publicizing the Newton case in the black community and assuring masses of demonstrators for his court appearances--first attracted the black militants to the sound truck owners, organizers for the predominantly white Peace and Freedom Party in November 1967.

The Panthers hired a white lawyer, Charles Garry,⁴⁵ who represented Newton from the time of his indictment on November 13, 1967, on murder and other charges. A white, anarchist-oriented youth headed one of the first local groups organized to solicit legal defense funds for Newton. When a Panther coalition with the county organizers for the Peace and Freedom Party was announced at a San Francisco rally on December 22, 1967, nationalistic black leaders were critical of the Panther compromise of black independence.

An editorial in The Black Panther of March 16, 1968, explained the party leaders' motives in working with whites, especially the "white radicals" who created the Peace and Freedom Party. With Newton's life at stake, the party saw no excuse for indulging egos, the paper declared, and from the moment of Newton's arrest, the leaders "began a frantic search for building a broad base of support to set him free." Black Americans were not only at odds with each other over tactics but were prone to talk when the Panthers needed people willing to work.⁴⁶

The Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) lacked enough voter signatures to put the party on the California ballot for the November 1968 elections and thus enable it to propagate the white organization's opposition to American military intervention to prevent a communist takeover of the South Vietnamese republic. The Panthers could and did help obtain the necessary additional signatures by a January 1968 deadline, in return for which the PFP agreed to allow its organizational facilities to be used in a Newton defense campaign.

Nationwide publicity of the Panther cause was assured later in 1968 when Cleaver became a Peace and Freedom Party candidate for President of the United States on the ballot in California and a number of other States. At the same time, the imprisoned Newton was presented to California voters as a contender for the U.S. Congress, while Cleaver's wife, Kathleen, and Seale sought election to seats in the California State Assembly.

Militant blacks who questioned the Panthers' apparent reliance on the ballot more than the bullet were assured by Panther leaders that the effort was to help Newton and the party organization, and not to win political office in a society in which blacks were aliens. Cleaver told fellow black nationalists that the PFP coalition was a "limited" one, permitting white leftist intrusion into black communities only for vote solicitation which would be Panther-supervised. Any other issues raised with black audiences would be selected by the Panthers, he said.

Newton declared that the PFP alliance would end whenever no benefit was seen to the "black liberation" movement, and he reminded white radicals that "blacks have their own mind" and "we'll make the theory and we'll carry out the practice" for a black nationalist revolution in America.

Panther relationships with white groups were affected not only by a fear of domination, but were strengthened by a nationalist outlook which placed a premium on black self-help and group consciousness and saw even a white presence as contributing to black inferiority complexes. Newton pointed out to white radicals on a number of occasions in 1968 that their interests differed. He claimed that white radical youth in affluent circumstances were seeking some kind of individual freedom, while the Panther program was geared to a demand for freedom for blacks as a group and the group was still seeking to satisfy basic material needs.⁴⁷

Most successful of the coalitions established after the jailing of Newton on murder charges was the arrangement with the Peace and Freedom Party, a former Panther observer.⁴⁸ Joint rallies and speaking tours, the use of printing equipment and sound trucks, and the availability of numerous young militants, white and black, to write, print, and distribute thousands of buttons, posters, leaflets, and other literature helped to publicize the Newton case and the Panther program not only nationally but also abroad.⁴⁹ The activity

spanned most of a year, for the first stage of prosecution was not reached until September 8, 1968, when a jury sent the Panther founder to prison for a non-capital offense, "voluntary manslaughter."

RELATIONS WITH ORTHODOX MARXISTS

The Black Panthers were invited to run candidates on Socialist Workers Party tickets in the 1968 national elections but the offer was rejected.⁵⁰ Panthers at no time considered entering into a working relationship with this American group which was committed to Marxist-Leninist theory and practice as interpreted by the late Bolshevik revolutionary Leon Trotsky.⁵¹

This Trotskyist organization, and other rival Marxist-Leninist groups including the Communist Party, U.S.A., lavished offers of support upon the Panthers after the first major legal troubles stemming from the Sacramento foray.

Communist Party representatives frequented Panther headquarters and, early in 1967, invited two Panther delegates to a meeting at which Communist Party funds and other aid were offered. Communist help was turned down because the CPUSA representatives frankly expected their directives to be followed by the Panthers and the latter were unwilling to relinquish any of their authority.⁵²

A front-page editorial in The Black Panther of July 20, 1967 by Minister of Information Cleaver denounced the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, U.S.A., and a coalition of new leftists as "enemies" and "hitch hikers on the black revolution." The editorial urged black revolutionaries to repudiate all ties and connections with such "dead-weight parasites" who presumed to be "true" revolutionary leaders because of their knowledge of Marx and Lenin, but spent their time in "ideological nit-picking" and exploiting black communities.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., came under particularly heavy fire for its efforts to dictate, which were disguised in elaborate plans to support the Panthers after Sacramento. In the Panthers' view, the proper role of white radicals "in the mother country" was not to intrude but to do everything possible to aid revolutionaries in the "colony." Aid in the classic national liberation pattern would include

supplying guns, material, finances, and information, among other things.

The subsequent coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party was based on assurances of Panther independence, and the Panthers assumed and terminated relations with other white groups according to Newton's rule that they must serve the specialized interests of the Panther Party.

AN UNSUCCESSFUL ALLIANCE WITH SNCC

An alliance between the Panther Party and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was announced at a massive "Free Huey Newton Rally" in the Oakland Auditorium, held on February 17, 1968 to coincide with Newton's birthday. Thousands of black Americans listened to speeches from H. Rap Brown, SNCC chairman who now also represented the Panthers as their minister of justice; James Forman, SNCC's international relations man who became Panther minister of foreign affairs; and ex-SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael, on whom Cleaver bestowed the grandiose title, prime minister of Afro-America.

(FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, testified before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations April 17, 1969 that certain organizations claiming to be civil rights organizations, but which in fact preached hatred for the white race, demanded immunity from laws, and advocated violence, constituted a serious threat to our country's internal security. The revolutionary stand taken by many members of extremist black nationalist organizations, including the advocacy of anarchy and revolution and a demand for the overthrow of the U.S. Government, he said, had made it necessary for the FBI to intensify its intelligence operations in this field.

(These groups claimed that the United States only represents the white race; therefore, they had aligned themselves with all nonwhite races of the world. Many opposed the U.S. involvement in Vietnam as a war between this predominantly white nation and nonwhite people. Many were pro-Marxist in their thinking and aligned themselves with countries like Cuba and communist China as proper examples to follow to bring about their own aims and goals, namely, revolution. In an effort to obtain these objectives, they actively studied guerrilla warfare, use of firearms, and karate in preparation for violent action against the U.S. Government.)

Cleaver announced the appointments as signifying a "merger" of the two organizations into a stronger movement welding the alienated black college types of SNCC with the dropout youth in the Panther constituency. Each organization actually retained its individual identity. Under the surface unit, dissension already existed between Carmichael and those who had succeeded him in SNCC. Furthermore, Carmichael, SNCC, and the Panthers would soon promote different strategies to oppose what they called a "racist" and "imperialist" white power structure.

The differences were evident in Carmichael's address to the Newton defense rally. He identified "whites" as the "major enemy" because of their intention of "wiping out" black Americans in the same way American Indians were "eliminated." This "genocidal" intent of white Americans should be fought, Carmichael said, by a black united front which would lure into a separatist fold even civil rights leaders and other prominent black Americans working within the system.

The SNCC organization, attracted to the idea of an all-black political party, broke with both Carmichael and the Panthers by August of 1968.⁵³

The Panther Party was opposed to electoral politics for any other purpose than publicity and was less concerned about the skin color of their allies than their revolutionary potential. The party placed black Congressmen and leaders of such organizations as the NAACP, Urban League, and CORE in the category of "bootlickers," "Uncle Toms," and "traitors." Panthers charged them with working within a system for personal advancement when they should seek revolutionary changes which would alter the status of all black Americans down to the lowest socioeconomic level.⁵⁴

The lack of success of the Panther-SNCC coalition was attributed by a former Panther to the differing views of the participants. Carmichael's failure to work for the BPP and his separatist line which disapproved of Panther cooperation with white leftists, even on grounds of expediency, insured trouble from the outset.⁵⁵

Panther "adoption" of former and present officers of SNCC in February 1968 nevertheless drew widespread publicity. Cleaver reminded white allies of the Panthers, who were concerned about the separatist orientation of the

Panthers' new black allies, that SNCC had a national apparatus and national contacts which the Panthers at that time clearly lacked.⁵⁶

THE 1968 PANTHER PROGRAM

The Panther program held to its same basically black nationalist course in 1968. The ministerial ranks conferred on the new SNCC allies reflected the Panther concept of American blacks as a kind of colonized national entity. The same theme was sounded by Cleaver when he referred to the Panther Party's growing cooperation with other organizations as the party's "foreign relations."⁵⁷ The platform and program follow:

OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

WHAT WE WANT The program is usually divided into one section of ten points entitled "What We Want" and then ten paragraphs explaining these points in a section. **WHAT WE BELIEVE** entitled "What We Believe." For the sake of clarity, we have put each one of the ten points in "What We Want" immediately above its corresponding paragraph in "What We Believe."

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.
2. We want full employment for our people.
We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.
We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty

acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.
We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United

{ States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried, by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are

instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed: that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Whereas PFP allies campaigned in behalf of Newton's right to a fair trial, the Panthers demanded "freedom" for Newton, based on their view that the police were an occupation army oppressing a black "colony." The Panthers considered Newton as much a "political prisoner" as an Algerian rebel leader captured by the French Army.⁵⁸

In December 1967, the names of Newton, Seale, and 25 other young blacks, most of them active in nationalist movements, appeared on a petition asking for a special status as permanent observers to the United Nations organization in New York. Their announced aim was to "internationalize" their struggle against violation of the "human rights" of black Americans.⁵⁹

A Panther delegation traveled to the U.N. headquarters in July 1968 to buttonhole representatives from various African nations and Cuba, and to hold press conferences alleging that genocidal actions against black Americans included the "framed-up" murder charge against Newton.⁶⁰ Panthers were still associating themselves in the summer of 1970 with an organized petition campaign which the Communist Party, U.S.A. helped to launch. The petition was filed with the U.N. and alleged that genocide was being carried out against black militants in the United States.⁶¹

At Eldridge Cleaver's suggestion, in the spring of

1968 the ten-point Panther platform and program was amended to make the "major political objective" of the party--

a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

The program previously referred vaguely to a right to "determine the destiny" of "our black community." The new demand gave the Panthers a national focus and was bound to attract new recruits, Cleaver claimed. He pointed out that a nationalist outlook was preserved while taking into account the differing views of black Americans with respect to integration, control of the cities, and total separation. By putting off questions of goals on which there was no unity, Cleaver said, the Panthers were following the advice of Ghana's pro-communist dictator at that time--Kwame Nkrumah: "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all things shall be added unto you."⁶²

Panthers would also thereafter advocate stationing of U.N. observers in black communities to prevent civil war, because the "organizational" and "political" power being sought would depend on the power of armed black Americans who would eventually form a coalition with third world powers to "force a settlement" on the United States, according to Cleaver.⁶³

The Panthers' white allies included new leftists on the Nation's campuses, who were part of a worldwide upsurge of radical youth in the sixties. Sit-ins and other demonstrations became increasingly violent and often involved students who were inclined to anarchy.⁶⁴ They may have inspired Cleaver's declaration that the Panther-Peace and Freedom Party coalition contained the seeds of a "revolution in the white mother country and national liberation for the black colony."⁶⁵

Newton told white new leftists that their quest for individual freedom, their lack of discipline and lack of an alternative to the present "system" they opposed were likely to make them ineffective. Since they insisted on identifying with minority group problems and finding heroes among the black activists, the Panther leader suggested they serve in white communities as defense groups for black groups such

as the Panthers. The already observable "friction" between "young white revolutionaries" and the police should be "permanent," he said, and attacks on blacks by police should bring retaliatory attacks on police forces located in predominantly white areas.⁶⁶

Newton described his personal philosophy to new leftists in the spring of 1968 as leaning towards black liberation on the model of the "people's socialist revolution in Ben Bella's Algeria." Newton expressed distaste for black capitalism, black dictatorships, and Soviet-style bureaucracies. Like Carmichael, he insisted that communist or socialist solutions carried with them no automatic solutions to the problem of "racism." He sympathized with the anarchist dream of a stateless society (without administrators and bureaucracies). Certain slogans of Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung had appeal for Newton because of their emphasis on the virtues and needs of the masses, rather than the "omnipotent administrator," Newton said. Castro-type guerrilla strategy had the attraction of control in the hands of the fighters themselves and not some party absorbed in theory.⁶⁷

In late 1967, the Panther newspaper began advertising the sale of writings of Carmichael; Robert F. Williams, chairman-in-exile of the Revolutionary Action Movement; and Mikhail Bakunin, a 19th century Russian anarchist.⁶⁸

PANTHER PARTY BECOMES A NATIONAL ORGANIZATION

The year 1968 marked the shift of the Black Panther Party from a relatively localized operation to an organization with many supporters from coast to coast.

Previously described coalitions are credited with helping the movement to attain its peak membership by the end of December 1968.⁶⁹

Early in 1968 the words "for self defense" were dropped from the party title to emphasize the "political" aspect of the party and to downgrade the "paramilitary" aspect, according to a former officer.⁷⁰

Seale, Cleaver, and other Panther leaders were busy on the lecture circuit--aided by Cleaver's Presidential candidacy and forums provided by new allies in left and pacifist organizations.

Seale joined the speakers' roster for mass demonstrations in Chicago during the week of August 25, 1968, when the Democratic National Convention met. The violence that erupted after some 10,000 demonstrators gathered at the call of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam led to Federal conspiracy to riot charges against Seale and others who had prominent roles in the affair.⁷¹

Travels to present the Huey Newton case and the Panthers to international audiences were also undertaken for the first time that year. As Seale and Chief of Staff Hilliard spoke in Chicago, Communications Secretary Kathleen Cleaver, and Captain Earl Anthony were lecturing in Japan under the auspices of Japanese who were involved in August protests against American military policies in the Far East.⁷² August also found Panther Minister of Education George Mason Murray visiting Castro's Cuba. Following the pattern set by Carmichael a year earlier, Murray told interviewers from the Cuban communist newspaper that black Americans were inspired by the example of the guerrilla fighter, Ché Guevara.⁷³

Chairman Seale later journeyed to Montreal, Canada, to make an appearance at a Hemispheric Conference to End the Vietnam War which was held November 28-December 1, 1968, and included spokesmen for the Vietcong.⁷⁴

The party was rapidly gathering new members about the country, with few national programs to occupy them other than a defense campaign in behalf of their founder in his fight against murder charges, Cleaver recalled. Anyone could become a Panther if he were willing to work to "free Huey."⁷⁵ (Some of the party efforts to introduce national administrative machinery to exert control over, and encourage discipline within the membership in 1968 are described earlier in this book. Also noted is the growing internal dissension between long-time Oakland Panthers and David Hilliard, who became chief of staff with reputedly dictatorial power over the organizational and financial matters by the end of 1968.) Hilliard, born May 15, 1942, in Alabama, had attended high school in Oakland and worked in the past as a longshoreman on the San Francisco waterfront. Newton brought him into the party in the spring of 1967 with the immediate rank of "captain," and he was supervising the headquarters staff within a year.⁷⁶

After Newton's first trial ended with a manslaughter

verdict on September 8, 1968, and an appeal was undertaken, dissension in the Oakland headquarters broke into the open. A Seale-Hilliard combine thereafter embarked on a purging of the ranks while also casting about for new programs and directions for an organization with an estimated 1,000 to 2,000 members whose leaders were periodically incapacitated by their run-ins with the law.⁷⁷

GROWTH OF VIOLENCE IN TALK AND ACTION

Panther leaders were still influenced by expectations that localized ghetto rebellions would before long evolve into well-organized revolution. This belief was strengthened by the assassination of civil rights leader Martin Luther King on April 4, 1968, which set off rioting in more than 80 cities beginning April 6, 1968.⁷⁸

Eldridge Cleaver, in the May 1968 edition of Ramparts, predicted a "coming holocaust":

That there is a holocaust coming, I have no doubt at all. The violent phase of the black liberation struggle is here, and it will spread. From that shot, from that blood, America will be painted red. Dead bodies will litter the street and the scenes will be reminiscent of the disgusting, terrifying, nightmarish news reports coming out of Algeria during the height of the general violence right before the final breakdown of the French colonial regime.

The Bay area was not the scene of rioting, and Panthers claimed to have helped to "cool" the citizenry. Panthers, however, cited the advantages of sniping and other guerrilla warfare tactics by an armed and organized black community.⁷⁹

Articles and cartoons in The Black Panther throughout 1968 echoed the same violent theme as Cleaver's Ramparts article. Cartoons depicted black guerrillas with guns and explosives, police officers pursued by a hail of bullets,⁸⁰ and other physical abuse of law enforcement authorities.

Immediately after the arrest of Newton in the fall of 1967, the Panthers offered for sale the anarchists' creed, The Catechism of the Revolutionist. This 18th century

Russian work, with an introduction by Cleaver, expounded one anarchist's view of the virtues of assassination and other "merciless" acts of destruction in the service of revolution.

Emory Douglas, Panther minister of culture and creator of many of the cartoons in the Panther newspaper, described his work as "revolutionary art" to "educate the masses of black people" in "the correct handling of revolution."

We, the Black Panther artists, draw deadly pictures of the enemy--pictures that show him at his death door or dead--his bridges are blown up in our pictures--his institutions destroyed--and in the end he is lifeless.

We try to create an atmosphere for the vast majority of black people--who aren't readers but activists--through their observation of our work, they feel they have the right to destroy the enemy.

Emory was taking his cue from Vietnamese guerrillas fighting the same "U.S. imperialist" oppressor, he said, and no groups would be spared the revolutionary wrath of black people. Art work must show "sniping bombers shooting down helicopters police mayors governors senators assemblymen congressmen firemen newsmen businessmen Americans," according to the cartoonist.⁸¹

Asked by white leftist allies to explain the Panthers' great emphasis on police forces, Newton responded that the representatives of an "oppressive" system appeared in the cities in the form of police forces.⁸² Cleaver added that Panthers "standing up to" a cop with guns were bound to attract more of their own "brothers on the block" to "an organized fight against the system":

Guys on the block out there, man [Cleaver said], they never have been too impressed by America you know, by what's been happening to them. They don't stand and cheer the cops and this is the reason, one of the reasons why the Panther Party focus on the cops, because the cops are out there and they're visible, you see, and this is the direct contact of the black people with the power structure. So here all of a sudden, here comes two niggers with some guns, stand up in front of the cop, and talk to the cop, just like the cop's

talking to them, you know. They check that out. They really want to know what that's about, you see. If they don't decide their life is too precious, you know, that they must live forever; if they don't decide that, then they come a little closer to the party.⁸³

Newton said an "occupying army" of police patrolling the inner city streets under the control of the outside "establishment" should be replaced by "security forces" made up of people living in the area and under the control of the black community. Due process and protection, denied to black citizens, would be assured by the Panther solution.⁸⁴ "Why shouldn't we have our own police station where we set up operations and organize through the churches and everything else to choose our own policemen?" Chairman Seale demanded of a predominantly black audience in February 1968.⁸⁵

The Panther leaders always made it clear that their demand for removal of "occupation" police forces from black communities was only a stage along the road to the drastic overhaul of the existing American power structure. Newton compared his tiny party's attack on the American goliath to Fidel Castro's 12-man force which fought the Cuban army, not with expectations of winning battle but to "educate" the people that the Cuban government, army, and police were not bulletproof.⁸⁶ When black people similarly were made aware of their strength--under the tutelage of the Panthers--they would presumably carry out their own "liberation."⁸⁷

TRAINING FOR GUERRILLA WAR

Panthers in 1968 remained under orders from their commander, Newton, to equip themselves with weapons.⁸⁸ As chapters were formed around the country, their members were also apparently informed that national policy required each Panther to acquire a gun and become familiar with its care and use.⁸⁹

Ex-Panthers have described classes in the care and use of weapons which were conducted within some chapters such as those in Seattle, Indianapolis, and Detroit in 1968. Members of more militant groups, like the Seattle chapter, gathered that year in public parks to engage in close order drill with their weapons, and sought to improve their

marksmanship at rifle ranges. Seattle Panthers arranged to receive some instruction in bombmaking and other guerrilla warfare techniques in this period.

The Indianapolis Black Panthers, according to a participant from the fall of 1968 to early 1969, also had instruction in the use of firearms and guerrilla warfare classes (using Ché Guevara's manual on the subject). These classes included instruction in the manufacture of firebombs, pipebombs utilizing acid, and a spike board to damage tires and, thus, disable vehicles.⁹⁰

National headquarters' responsibility for encouragement of guerrilla warfare instruction was illustrated by several episodes. The November 16, 1968 edition of The Black Panther carried an article on "Grenades and Bombs: Anti-Property and Anti-Personnel." This product of national headquarters gave detailed, step-by-step instructions for making small hand grenades and firebombs.

On November 15, 1968, the Black Panther organization held what it called a "national retreat" at headquarters in Berkeley. "Brothers and sisters from all chapters," the Panther paper reported, "came to Berkeley to receive more education and instruction from the National Office and to intensify the struggle."⁹¹

The instructions at the retreat included distribution of a document titled "Firebombs," which explained how to assemble destructive devices from easily obtainable material.⁹²

"OFF THE PIGS"

The use of the slogan, "Off the pig," came into general use among Panthers in 1968.

Beginning in June 1967, cartoons depicting police officers as "pigs" in uniform appeared regularly in the Panther newspaper. A definition in the newspaper described a "pig" as: "A low natured beast that has no regard for law, justice, or the rights of the people; a creature that bites the hand that feeds it; a foul depraved traducer, usually found masquerading as the victim of an unprovoked attack."⁹³

The epithet "pig" rarely appeared in the text of

Panther newspaper articles until 1968 when it was liberally employed in text and cartoon to refer not only to police officers, but also to national guardsmen, military men, the President, and executive department heads, candidates of major political parties, the U.S. Government, and even to an unsympathetic newspaper.

"Pigs" usually had white skins, but occasionally were colored black. The label was applied to Panther "enemies" who, according to Cleaver, were the following groups in the white community, and all members of the black community who supported them: "avaricious businessmen, demagogic politicians and racist cops."⁹⁴

In the summer of 1968, Panthers demonstrated outside the courthouse where Newton was being tried for the murder of police officer John Frey. Panther demonstrators chanting "off the pigs" introduced a new idiomatic expression into the American language.⁹⁵

The words "pig" and "off the pig" have more than one meaning even among Panthers. Increasing use of the terms by other than Panthers has further confused the matter.⁹⁶

Former Panthers furnishing information to the HCIS agreed with Chairman Bobby Seale's acknowledgment that "pigs" principally refers to police officers, despite its application by Panthers to other symbols of authority. Initially, "pigs" also referred to those police officers, white or black, who were "disrespectful" in their approach to black citizens (a "majority" of the police, in Seale's view, however). "Off the pig" had two meanings: an act of physical violence against a police officer; or a programmatic demand for removal from the black community of police forces not controlled by the community itself, former and present Panthers agreed.

The Panthers' chant of "off the pigs" at the Newton trial--circulated nationwide through the medium of the film--was, according to Seale, a demand both for removal of police forces from the black community and the suggestion that "pigs," not Newton, deserved the gas chamber.⁹⁷

A majority of the former Panthers questioned by the HCIS felt that "off" had since become synonymous with "kill," and that "pig" most commonly referred to all officers of the law. The many law enforcement officials who appeared as

witnesses at HCIS hearings on the Panther Party were unanimous in the belief that the Panthers were indeed talking about killing the members of their profession.

Confronted personally by bands of armed Panthers, many of them with criminal records, now talking about "off-ing" the "pigs," police officers would find little encouragement in HCIS testimony of some former Panthers that a "minority" of officers were not the subject of Panther complaints. Law enforcement authorities could derive little comfort from the conflicting responses from former Panthers when the HCIS committee inquired about the correlation of Panther words with actions.

The mayhem against "pigs" depicted in Panther speech, writings, and cartoons was "rhetorical," a kind of political satire in street language, signifying for resentful blacks a way of "letting off steam," according to HCIS testimony by the former managing editor of the Panther paper. "Advocacy" of violence--to defend one's person and household in the current situation and to bring down the power structure in a future revolutionary situation--was the understanding of a number of other former Panthers as well as current local officials interrogated by the HCIS.

Even the term "self-defense" had more than one connotation, however. Some interpreted it as covering guerrilla-like sniping and other acts of violence. This purportedly was to be a self-defensive response to the Panther claim of 400 years of real or de facto "slavery" of blacks in the United States. The forthcoming revolution for which the Panthers prepared was also depicted as a defensive response to a power structure with "racist," "oppressive," and "genocidal" intentions against inner city residents.⁹⁸

DEATH IN THE STREETS

During 1968 the Panthers became increasingly belligerent. By the end of the year their violent encounters with the police had resulted in the death of five Panthers and the wounding of 17 police officers.

Violence occurred in Los Angeles, Seattle, New York City, and Jersey City, among other places. The chief trouble spot was the Oakland area, where Panthers were mobilizing support for Newton on charges growing out of his

role in the fatal shooting of a police officer the preceding autumn.

At party orders, Panthers were equipped with arms and a number of the top officers were periodically arrested in Berkeley and Oakland on illegal weapons charges in the early months of 1968.

Chairman Seale, for example, was arrested in a weapons search of his home in Berkeley on February 25, 1968. Chief of Staff Hilliard was arrested in Berkeley on the same date on a weapons charge. Seale was again picked up on May 23, 1968, on a charge of bringing firearms into a jail.⁹⁹ Close surveillance by law enforcement authorities on Panther weapon collections was countered by a Panther disruption of a Berkeley City Council meeting in February to demand removal of police forces from predominantly black communities and a civil suit in May for "damages" as a result of alleged Oakland police harassment of the Panthers.

Cold war turned hot on the night of April 6, 1968, when other cities were torn by rioting in the wake of Martin Luther King's assassination, but Oakland was outwardly calm. Two police officers stopping to investigate a figure crouched behind a parked car reported being greeted by gunfire. Gunfighting between Panthers and rapidly arriving police reinforcements continued for 90 minutes. Three police officers were wounded, Panther Minister of Finance Bobby Hutton was killed and Minister of Information Cleaver and Chief of Staff Hilliard were jailed. Police authorities accused the Panthers of setting up an ambush, and the Panther Party hurled the same charge back at the authorities.¹⁰⁰

In Los Angeles on August 5, 1968, two police officers followed to a gas station an erratically driven car containing four Panthers. The officers attempted to check the occupants' credentials. After the driver acknowledged he had no driver's license, police reported they were about to question the remaining three occupants when they were hit by gunfire. When the battle ended, three Panthers were dead, a fourth Panther had escaped, one officer was critically wounded in the abdomen, and the other policeman was shot in both legs.

A police officer, searching on foot for a suspected auto thief on the afternoon of October 5, 1968, in Seattle, Washington, encountered a Black Panther with a rifle pointed in the officer's direction. The policeman reported that the

Panther ignored four orders to drop the weapon and instead grabbed the barrel of the police revolver. As the militant raised his rifle, the policeman shot him to death in an episode later ruled justifiable homicide.¹⁰¹

Another type of Panther violence reported by police during the year was illustrated by a shotgun attack which sent two New York City police officers to the hospital on August 2, 1968.¹⁰²

At least four policemen were sent to the hospital for treatment in Jersey City on September 24, 1968, as a result of a police-Panther confrontation that began relatively innocently when a local Panther leader took up a position in the middle of an intersection and refused to obey orders to stop blocking traffic, according to police reports.¹⁰³

An extremely tense situation in Jersey City developed late in November 1968 in what the press described as a possible aftermath of seven arrests of Panthers on weapons charges on November 27, 1968. On November 29 a Jersey City police precinct station was raked with machine gun fire. On December 1 the New Jersey Black Panther office in Newark was bombed, injuring four party members. The press circulated "suspicions" of police and Panthers that the events presented an outbreak of violent struggle between the two groups.¹⁰⁴

NOTES

1. Seale, Seize the Time, pp. 29-33.
2. Both Newton and Seale were put on probation in March 1966 following conviction on a charge of battery against a police officer during a speaking appearance.
3. Seale, Seize the Time. A San Francisco Chronicle interview of Newton on April 15, 1967, described the Panther minister of defense as a full-time Panther, without salary, and Seale as counselor with a local war-on-poverty project, the North Oakland Community Center.
4. See complete text of platform and program in this chapter, pp. 54-57.

5. The focus for initial Panther activity was discussed in testimony of former Panther Frank B. Jones, HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, and in summary of information from an anonymous former Panther, exhibit 8 to the same hearings.
6. Newton on "The Correct Handling of a Revolution," in The Black Panther, July 20, 1967.
7. Seale, Seize the Time.
8. Newton, in film "Black Panther," produced by San Francisco Newsreel, introduced in record of HCIS hearings on Students for a Democratic Society, pt. 1-A, 1969, exhibit 65.
9. Newton's exploitation of the principle of community counterriot patrols was discussed by Mr. and Mrs. Larry Powell, former Panther activists in Los Angeles and Oakland, in testimony before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, hearings on "Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders," pt. 19, June 1969.
10. Recollections of a member of the Panther Party in this period which are summarized in exhibit 8 to HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4. He was not identified by name because of his fear of retaliation from persons remaining in the party.
11. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, op. cit., found ghetto residents believe a double standard of justice existed for blacks and whites and that, in black neighborhoods, police engaged in "brutality," a term covering physical and verbal abuse, harassment including stop and frisk procedures, and simple discourtesy. Surveys showed "police practices" topped the list of ghetto grievances, with unemployment or underemployment, housing, and other community needs in lesser roles.

The Commission warned that a police officer, who was constantly present as an enforcer in high crime areas such as a ghetto, became a tangible target for all grievances and shortcomings of ghetto residents. He was a symbol of a society from which some blacks were alienated, and as such, he alone would not be expected to solve all the problems of police-community

relationships. His job was one of the most difficult in American society, the Commission acknowledged.

12. A discussion of the view of the police held by street youth and early Panther activists appears in HCIS hearings on BPP, testimony of former Panther Donald Berry, pt. 3, and exhibit 8, pt. 4; in the Powells' testimony before Senate subcommittee, op. cit. See also Gene Marine in Ramparts, June 29, 1968.
13. Seale, in Seize the Time, said he and Newton realized they were deliberately placing their lives in jeopardy by their tactics. Former Panther Anthony reported that the chief criticism of the Panthers by other nationalist-oriented blacks in the area was that the chances of jail or death were greatly increased for anyone carrying guns openly on the street (Anthony, op. cit.).
14. Ibid., p. 129.
15. The Panther concern for dramatic effect and widespread publicity was described by one of the initial Oakland Panthers, whose information is summarized in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 8. The February incident is described in detail in Anthony, op. cit., and Seale, Seize the Time.
16. A coroner's jury later ruled the shooting, involving a sheriff's deputy, justifiable homicide.
17. Panther activity in the Dowell case was reported in a four-page mimeographed publication, The Black Panther, vol. 1, no. 1, April 25, 1967. It was a forerunner of the party's printed newspaper with the same name. The Dowell protest and succeeding events are also described in Seize the Time and in local newspapers of that period.
18. Some black nationalists accusing the U.S. Government of genocidal intentions have voiced suspicions of Nazi-like plans for extermination. Some have pointed to physical deprivation in the ghettos or arrests and deaths of black persons in violent confrontations with law enforcement authorities as evidence of genocidal intent. (See footnote 61 for a United Nations definition of genocide.)

The May 2 Panther executive mandate repeated a falsehood widely circulated by means of a communist front publication that camps in which Japanese Americans were interned in the forties were being renovated and expanded, presumably for future internment of rebellious ghetto blacks.

The charge was disavowed on Sept. 10, 1970 by Assistant Attorney General J. Walter Yeagley, testifying at HCIS hearings on bills to repeal Title II of the Internal Security Act of 1950. Title II authorized use of detention camps in time of foreign invasion, a congressional declaration of war or a Presidential declaration of a state of internal armed rebellion. In compliance with the act, the Department in the early fifties had six camps prepared for occupancy, some of them facilities which had housed Japanese Americans in World War II. Yeagley stated that after 1957, the Justice Department abandoned control of the camps, which were taken over by other Federal prisons, an airstrip, and grazing land.

A former Panther who was informed of Justice Department assurances described above, indicated to HCIS that he was nevertheless still inclined to believe in the existence of plans looking toward the military confinement and containment of large numbers of ghetto residents. (HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4.)

On Oct. 8, 1970, the HCIS committee heard testimony from Clive Lisbon De Patten, a former Panther still sympathetic to the party. During his testimony De Patten clearly showed the paranoia rampant in the Black Panther Party on this question. De Patten testified that there was a plan to "imprison or kill all black people within a period of, I think, it was either 8 or 24 hours, you know, much the same as the Nazis did the Jews." He stated that this was the "King Alfred Plan." He claimed that urban renewal and road construction was all part of this plan. When it was revealed that this so-called "King Alfred Plan" was a fictitious story that had appeared in a novel entitled The Man Who Cried I Am, De Patten refused to be convinced. De Patten stated, "Whatever happens, the King Alfred Plan does describe in detail what is happening in the black community. It describes the freeways, the railroad tracks, the project areas." Congressman Watson of HCIS asked De Patten whether he was against taking Negroes "out of these shanties and put[ting] them into these high-rise apartments."

De Patten responded that he was against this because it was part of the King Alfred Plan.

19. The Sacramento incident has been detailed by a former Panther in exhibit 8 to HCIS hearings on BPP and in Seize the Time, in which the Panthers' "Executive Mandate No. 1" is reproduced.
20. San Francisco Chronicle, Apr. 13, 1967.
21. San Francisco Examiner, May 26, 1967.
22. The Black Panther, June 29, 1967. SNCC was primarily a southern organization, with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia. On May 12, 1967, H. Rap Brown became chairman and Carmichael announced plans to work as a SNCC field secretary with a base in Washington, D.C. Carmichael's militant speeches to blacks in Southern colleges and in Atlanta in the spring of 1967--noted by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders--made it appear that he and SNCC were among those unnamed organizations and individuals condemned by the commission for creating the atmosphere that contributed to the outbreak of some civil disorders in that period.
23. Anthony, op. cit.
24. His essays appeared in various issues of Ramparts in 1967 and were printed in book form early in 1968 by McGraw-Hill publishers.

Biographical information on Cleaver appears in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibits 20A and 20B; in Cleaver's articles in Ramparts, June 15, 1968, and September 1969; and in Lee Lockwood, Conversation with Eldridge Cleaver (Algiers, New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1970).
25. Seize the Time.
26. Anthony, op. cit.
27. The Black Panther, June 20, 1967.
28. See Chapter 1, p. 24.
29. The Newton interview appeared in the New York Times

of May 21, 1967, p. 66. Seale's speech at a noon rally, May 10, 1967, under the sponsorship of several campus organizations, was reported in the student newspaper, the Daily Californian, May 11, 1967.

30. Newton's comparison of police to "occupying armies" appeared in the New York Times interview and in more detail in The Black Panther, May 15, 1967.
31. The Black Panther, op. cit., p. 4, repeated in issue of July 3, 1967.
32. The Black Panther, Apr. 25, 1967, p. 4.
33. The Black Panther, May 15, 1967, p. 4.
34. Daily Californian, May 11, 1967.
35. Although the word "pig" was used occasionally as a synonym for police officers in printed articles in The Black Panther, 1967, it was not in general usage until 1968 and it was also applied to such diverse symbols of authority as military personnel and the President and his Cabinet.
36. Anthony and Marine, op. cit. Anthony stated that Panther patrols of Oakland police were resumed at a later date, but were never again openly armed.
37. California Penal Code, section 12031. The prohibition applied to incorporated cities and any prohibited unincorporated areas. Exceptions were made for peace officers and persons who believed their lives to be in immediate jeopardy. Its effect as a deterrent to Panther weapon displays was described in the testimony of former national Panther officer, Frank B. Jones, in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4.
38. See Chapter 1.
39. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 8.
40. Quoted by Newton in the third issue of The Black Panther, June 20, 1967; described as a Panther motto by Cleaver in Ramparts, June 15, 1968; and noted in a staff study, HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 1, exhibit 5.

41. Seize the Time.
42. Anthony, op. cit.
43. The first stage of the prosecution of Newton ended with a jury verdict of voluntary manslaughter on Sept. 8, 1968. Newton was sentenced September 27 to 2-15 years in prison. The conviction was reversed by the California Court of Appeals on May 29, 1970, and Newton was freed on bond in August 1970. A second trial on a voluntary manslaughter charge ended in a hung jury on Aug. 8, 1971. A mistrial was declared and a third trial scheduled for mid-October 1971.
44. Seale was jailed from August until December 1967 as a result of the May 2 incident at Sacramento.
45. Dr. Jack Patten, a member of the Communist Party in San Francisco from 1938 to 1948, named Charles Garry as a fellow member of the party's "professional" section. Patten's testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on June 19, 1957, was followed by Garry's own appearance on the witness stand on June 21, 1957. The lawyer chose to invoke his fifth amendment privileges against self-incrimination in response to all HCUA questions on party membership.
46. The Black Panther, Mar. 16, 1968, p. 3. The motives and mechanics of the Panther coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party and other white groups were detailed to the HCIS committee by the anonymous Panther referred to in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 8; and Anthony and Seale, op. cit.; Marine, Ramparts, June 29, 1968; Cleaver, in Teodori, op. cit., p. 286; and National Guardian, Jan. 20, 1968, p. 6.
47. Differences between the Panthers and white radicals were described by Cleaver, quoted in Anthony, op. cit., and in "Huey Newton Talks to the Movement," interview in the new left newspaper, The Movement, August 1968, reprinted as exhibit 72, HCIS hearings on Students for a Democratic Society, pt. 1-B.
48. Panther referred to in HCIS hearings pt. 4, exhibit 8.

49. Anthony, op. cit.
50. Testimony of former Panther Frank Jones, HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4.
51. Analysis made by a former Panther in interview with an HCIS investigator and summarized in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 8.
52. Information from former Panther described in testimony of Investigator Richard Shaw, HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, Nov. 17, 1970.
53. See Carmichael speech of Feb. 17, 1968, in Teodori, op. cit. SNCC was restructured at a June 1968 conference at which it voted down approval of the ten-point Panther Party program. Carmichael was expelled from SNCC soon thereafter.
54. The Panther Party's hostility toward black organizations working within the system was discussed by former Panther Frank B. Jones, HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4. The "legitimate" black leaders were denounced by Newton in The Black Panther, July 3, 1967, p. 9, and by Cleaver in The Black Panther, July 20, 1967, pp. 2 and 19.
55. The uneasy SNCC-Panther coalition was described to the committee by the former Panther referred to in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 8. When Carmichael submitted a belated resignation from the BPP in July 1969, Cleaver reviewed their longstanding differences in "An Open Letter to Stokely Carmichael," Ramparts, September 1969.
56. See Marine, Ramparts, June 29, 1968, p. 44.
57. Cleaver, The Black Panther, Mar. 16, 1968.
58. Marine, Ramparts, June 29, 1968, and editorial, The Black Panther, Nov. 23, 1967.
59. National Guardian, Dec. 30, 1967, p. 9.
60. The Black Panther, Sept. 14, 1968, p. 3.
61. People's World, June 27, 1970, p. 12. The United

Nations General Assembly on Dec. 9, 1948, approved a Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide which defined the crime as the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, any national, ethnic, racial, or religious groups: killing; causing serious bodily or mental harm; deliberately inflicting conditions of life for the purpose of bringing about physical destruction; imposing birth prevention measures; forcibly transferring children to other groups.

62. Cleaver, speech of Mar. 16, 1968, to PFP convention, printed in The Black Panther, May 4, 1968, p. 12, and Cleaver in The Guardian, Apr. 13, 1968, Apr. 20, 1968. Cleaver stated that he personally could not see how blacks could have sovereign control of cities and felt a "total rearrangement of the power structure" would be required to give blacks some degree of control.
63. Cleaver in The Guardian, op. cit.
64. See HCIS report, "Anatomy of a Revolutionary Movement: Students for a Democratic Society," H. Report 91-1565, Oct. 6, 1970.
65. Cleaver, The Black Panther, May 4, 1968, p. 12.
66. "Huey Newton Talks to the Movement," op. cit., and Newton in The Black Panther, Nov. 16, 1968, p. 12.
67. Ibid.
68. Advertisements in The Black Panther, Nov. 23, 1967. Williams' book, Negroes with Guns, was his account of the organization of a Black paramilitary group under his leadership in Monroe, N.C. Williams was indicted for kidnaping a white couple as hostages during a shootout with the local police. Williams fled to Cuba where he began the publication of a newsletter entitled The Crusader, which urged armed insurrection by American Negroes. He subsequently moved to Red China where he continued to publish The Crusader. Williams recently returned to the United States and is fighting extradition to North Carolina. Upon Williams' return to the U.S. he appeared and testified in executive session before the Senate

Subcommittee on Internal Security. He is now on the faculty, in the Asian Studies Department, at the University of Michigan.

69. See Chapter 4 for discussion of membership figures.
70. Testimony of Frank B. Jones, former managing editor, The Black Panther, HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4.
71. Five of the so-called "Conspiracy 8" eventually were convicted and two were acquitted. The eighth man, Bobby Seale, was arrested on the charge on Mar. 25, 1969, went on trial in Chicago, Sept. 24, 1969, but was severed from the trial on Nov. 5, 1969, when the judge sentenced him to four years in jail for contempt as a result of disruptive trial behavior. On Oct. 19, 1970, the conspiracy to riot charges were dismissed at the request of the U.S. Attorney.

On Aug. 20, 1969, while on bail awaiting trial in the case, Seale was rearrested on a new charge of joining in a conspiracy with eight New Haven, Conn., Panthers which led to the torture-murder of Alex Rackley, a New York Panther suspected of being a police informant.

The first defendant to be tried, Lonnie McLucas, was found guilty by a jury, on Aug. 31, 1970, of conspiracy to murder and was sentenced to 12 to 15 years in prison. Six other defendants entered guilty pleas to lesser charges and were sentenced. Jury selections for the trial of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, a top party leader in New Haven, began in that city on Nov. 17, 1970, and the first witness was called on Mar. 18, 1971.

On May 24, 1971, the jury reported it was unable to reach a unanimous decision on the guilt or innocence of Seale and Huggins on murder and kidnapping charges. The judge immediately declared a mistrial. On the following day he dismissed all charges against the two defendants, explaining that selection of an unbiased jury for another trial would be difficult in view of the "massive publicity" given to the case. (New York Times, May 26, 1971, pp. 1, 70.)

Seale was freed from jail for the first time in 21 months when a judge in Chicago on May 28, 1971, approved his release on \$25,000 bail pending appeal of his 4-year contempt of court sentence.

72. The Black Panther, Sept. 14, 1968, p. 10, and Anthony, op. cit.
73. Granma, Aug. 25, 1968, quoted in staff study, HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 1, exhibit 5.
74. Staff study, op. cit.
75. Cleaver, interview, Summer 1969, Algiers, with West German journalist Stefan Aust, Liberation News Service, reprinted in Philip S. Foner, ed., The Black Panthers Speak (Philadelphia, New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1970), and in The Black Panther, Oct. 11, 1969, pp. 10-12.
76. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 20A. Hilliard's older brother, Roosevelt "June" Hilliard, was identified in a February 1970 issue of the Panther paper as occupying the post of assistant chief of staff.
77. See Chapter 4.
78. See Anthony, Picking Up the Gun, and The Black Panther, July 20, 1967, p. 11.
79. Anthony, Picking Up the Gun. A 1967 exposition by Newton of some of the advantages of guerrilla warfare was reprinted in The Black Panther of May 4, 1968.
80. The Black Panther, May 4, 1968, pp. 12 and 24, for example. An aggressive rather than defensive use of violence against police officers began to appear in Panther newspaper cartoons with increasing frequency.
81. "Revolutionary Art/Black Liberation," by Emory Douglas, in The Black Panther, May 18, 1968, p. 20.
82. "Huey Newton Talks to the Movement," op. cit.
83. Film, "Black Panther," produced by San Francisco Newsreel.
84. "Huey Newton Speaks," Nov. 3, 1967, in Urban Crisis Monitor, Urban Research Corp., Jan. 2, 1970.
85. Speech at Free Huey Newton rally, Feb. 17, 1968,

Oakland, in The Black Panther, Mar. 16, 1968, pp. 9, 15.

86. A reference to Castro's suicidal assault with a handful of men on the Moncada army barracks in Santiago, Cuba, July 26, 1953, which advertised the start of long drawn out guerrilla operations against the Cuban regime.
87. Film, "The Black Panther."
88. A reiteration by Newton that all Panthers acquire guns was contained in his Executive Mandate No. 3, issued on Mar. 1, 1968. (The Black Panther, Mar. 16, 1968, p. 1.)
89. HCIS testimony to this effect was given by former members of Panther chapters scattered throughout the country.
90. HCIS hearings on BPP, pts. 2 and 3. Some chapters which were subject to exhaustive committee investigation stressed their paramilitary aspect in this period, but there were others, such as the Detroit Panthers, whose leadership was described as opposed to violence. Lack of militance was to bring down on some chapters reprimands from regional and national spokesmen.
91. The Black Panther, Jan. 4, 1969, p. 15.
92. Exhibit 333, Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, hearings on Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders, pt. 19, 1970.
93. This definition, under the caption, "What Is a Pig?" appeared in The Black Panther, Mar. 16, 1968, p. 14.
94. Cleaver, The Black Panther, Oct. 26, 1968. This application of the term to government officials, businessmen and others hostile to Panther goals was confirmed by ex-Panther Donald Berry, HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 3, and in executive testimony from anonymous Panther, March 1970.
95. Anthony, Picking Up the Gun, and Seale, Seize the Time.

96. This report is chiefly concerned with Panther use of the words as evidence of its program affecting law enforcement in the United States. The committee is aware that "pig" entered the body of American slang to such an extent that patrolmen's groups were countering it with such slogans as "pigs are beautiful." The word "off" appears in a "Black Glossary" issued by the Better Speech Institute of America, Inc., in 1971 with the definition "to beat severely; to kill."
- Some of the credit for popularization of the terms must be given to a new left film producer, the San Francisco Newsreel, whose film "The Black Panther" showed chanting demonstrators at Newton's trial. The film was shown on college campuses throughout the nation in the 1968-1969 school year by other sympathetic new left groups such as Students for a Democratic Society.
97. Seale, op. cit. The use of the terms was described to the committee in interviews or testimony by former Panther Frank B. Jones of the Oakland headquarters organization; former Panthers Clive De Patten, Iowa; Tom Kearney, Philadelphia; Barron Howard, Indiana; Donald Berry, Detroit, and several other former party members who chose to remain anonymous.
98. Some of the ex-Panther views were summarized by Investigator Richard Shaw, HCIS hearings on the BPP, pt. 4, Oct. 6, 1970. A former Panther from Des Moines, Iowa, testified that he understood "self-defense" to include not only violence in the face of physical danger but also the right to shoot a policeman if the officer killed or even unjustly arrested a member of the black community. (Hearings, pt. 4, Oct. 8, 1970.)
99. An original charge of conspiracy to commit murder against Seale was dropped, but weapons charges against him and Hilliard were still pending in 1969--a year in which other more serious criminal charges were brought against both men. For the subsequent charge of bringing a weapon to jail, Seale was convicted in June 1968 and sentenced to three years, the sentence to be served on probation.
100. Two of the defendants were convicted of assault with deadly weapons; another was convicted on an

unrelated charge; and Cleaver frustrated prosecution by fleeing the country in November 1968. Cleaver had been charged with attempted murder and assault on April 6 and his parole was revoked. He remained in prison from April until June, when he was released on bail following a court ruling that his parole had been improperly revoked for political activity. He left the country just prior to a hearing in November 1968 on possible parole revocation.

101. Circumstances surrounding Panther deaths at the hands of police officers were researched and reported by Edward Jay Epstein for an article, "The Panthers and the Police: A Pattern of Genocide?" printed in The New Yorker, February 13, 1971.

Information regarding violent confrontations between police and Panthers appearing in this book makes reference to the research as well as to committee investigations summarized in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 3.

102. Although the assailants escaped, police reported an ensuing search uncovered evidence indicating Panther sympathies for the attackers (New York Free Press, August 8, 1968).

103. New York Times, September 25, 1968, p. 21.

104. New York Times, Dec. 3, 1968, p. C-23; Guardian, Dec. 14, 1968, p. 6. Subsequent prosecution of Jersey City Panthers as a result of the machine gunning of the police station is described in chapter 3, "New Strategies for the Period, 1969-1971."

Chapter 3

NEW STRATEGIES FOR THE PERIOD, 1969-1971

... We say that ... there needs to be an American Liberation Front composed of all the people of this nation.

It is time that everybody understands the Black Panther Party has not been trying to shuck and jive anybody. We've been trying to move this struggle from a lower to a higher level. All the people who sacrificed their lives in ALL organizations, (not only the Black Panther Party) who are political prisoners, etc., must be defended. We understand that fascism exists in America. And we are going to create ... an American Liberation Front to combat the avaricious businessman, the demagogic politician and the fascist pig cops who murder, brutalize and terrorize the people. (Bobby Seale's Address to UFAF Conference as quoted in The Black Panther, August 2, 1969.)

Major changes were effected in the organizational structure, tactics, and political line of the Black Panther Party in 1969.

A number of measures taken by the party hierarchy in the closing months of 1968 signaled the changes. The party's complete absorption with the Newton murder trial ended in September 1968 when the jury brought in a verdict of manslaughter. As attorneys embarked on the long process of appeal, the party leadership explored in earnest "political" ideas and programs in which it could involve the many hundreds of members who had flocked to the party in urban centers around the nation.¹

The party also took the initial steps in what was to be a complete reorganization of the party structure from the

national to local chapter level before it was completed in the summer of 1969. A somewhat anarchic situation was to be replaced, insofar as possible, by instilling discipline in and giving national direction and coordination to Panthers scattered about the country.

Changes, as in the past, reflected a Panther adaptation to the circumstances which confronted them in late 1968 and early 1969. The tapering off of urban rioting in 1968 was not encouraging to those counting on widespread black uprisings in America. However, in the 1968-1969 academic year, rebellion, in the form of mass demonstrations, frequently disruptive and violent in nature, plagued the nation's college campuses. Among the many groups demonstrating on hundreds of campuses in this period were white radical groups such as Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)² and militant black student organizations with a nationalist orientation.

A year-long coalition with the predominantly white Peace and Freedom Party had publicized the Panther Party, brought in new members across the nation, and in the guise of an election campaign in 1968 raised funds for Newton's defense. As a result, the black nationalist group had a vested "physical and financial base" in the white radical community³ which it chose to continue to exploit in 1969.

The revolutionary stance of such rapidly growing white "new left" groups as SDS offered theoretical justification for a coalition policy that would continue to alienate Panthers from other black nationalist elements (who reminded the Panthers about their own early warnings against dependence on white groups for black liberation). The programs eventually selected by the Panthers for promotion on a national scale beginning in 1969 reflected, however, a new and legalistic "community service" line which was more in keeping with the style of the Panthers in Peace and Freedom Party electoral campaigns.

The new "serve the people" theme was represented as being in harmony with Panther expectations to achieve "power to the people" in an eventual showdown with the "racist power structure."

When the theme was sounded by Chairman Bobby Seale in The Black Panther of November 16, 1968, it reflected little of the customary Panther militancy. The program appeared

to have little in common with Panther study of guerrilla warfare tactics--the subject of a publication distributed to members gathered at a "national retreat" in Berkeley on the very same date--or with Panther predictions of armed struggles in a future revolutionary situation.⁴

In his November statement, pointedly addressed to "older people" in the black communities, Chairman Seale declared that the party was "very concerned about community problems" and intended to relate more to them. Noting the small vote cast for Panther candidates in the recent elections, Seale maintained that "we're going to relate more to the election process" and enter candidates in Bay area local elections in April of 1969. The Panthers would remove local mayors and councilmen "by either voting power or by gun power," Seale declared in his only lapse into customarily militant Panther jargon.

While the Panthers apparently did not actually field any more candidates in political election campaigns in the Bay area after 1968, Seale, in November, unveiled three of the four "serve the people" projects which did become "key" programs promoted on a nationwide scale by Panthers in 1969. They were:

- 1) circulation in various cities of petitions to obtain a referendum vote on decentralization of city police forces;
- 2) initiation of free breakfasts for schoolchildren of welfare recipients, to be served in neighborhood churches;
- 3) institution of free health clinics in black communities.

The fourth "key"⁵ program called for the establishment of "black liberation schools." Seale described the project to the Guardian of January 4, 1969, as classes in black history, taught to children after school in the same churches which provided them with free breakfasts in the morning. Later more schools, simply labeled "liberation schools," were suggested by national headquarters as a summertime replacement for free breakfasts for schoolchildren, with the addition of lunches. Black history reflecting the basic Panther outlook towards society was the proposed curriculum.

REVOLUTIONARIES "SERVING THE PEOPLE"

Panther response to white radicals and black militants who questioned programs for improvements within a system which was eventually to be overthrown in its entirety was to quote from revolutionary "authorities." Two of these "authorities," Ché Guevara and Mao Tse-tung, advised revolutionaries to show concern for popular needs in order to gain the mass support necessary for successful revolution, party leaders pointed out.

Seale explained to an interviewer from the radical Guardian, for example, that the late Guevara, exponent of guerrilla warfare in Latin America, insisted that revolutionary struggles must relate to the "momentary desires and needs of the people."⁶

Panther chapters were told, through the party's newspaper, that the community programs were the result of Newton's decision to demonstrate that the party is "an oxen [sic] to be ridden by the people."

Panthers who solicited or, in some cases, extorted, food and money from merchants and helped to prepare breakfast for schoolchildren hoped to demonstrate the party's sincerity in meeting basic needs of "the people" but also to expose the inadequacy of the capitalist system. In that sense, the Panthers' deputy minister of information declared, the programs were also lessons in "socialism."⁷

Of the four new community programs, only the petition campaign for decentralization of police forces had been implemented before 1969. Breakfasts were not actually put on a table until January 1969; the first liberation school opened in June at the beginning of the summer recess; and the first health clinic to come to the committee's attention opened in August of 1969. (Typical operations of Panther programs built around food and health needs of citizens will be described in subsequent sections of this book.)

Black community control of its own police patrols was long an essential element in the Black Panther's nationalist demand for "self-determination" for the "black community."

The petition campaign inaugurated by the Panthers for the first time late in 1968 proposed to provide

predominantly black communities with control of their own police forces but also extended the same autonomy to other areas heavily populated by a nonwhite minority and to predominantly white neighborhoods.

(The breakfasts for schoolchildren program in theory, and sometimes in practice, served low-income whites and all racial minorities. Only health centers and liberation schools were specified in initial publicity as services for black residents.)

The Panthers' chairman, with the aid of a Peace and Freedom Party ally, devised the petition project apparently after both groups engaged in a disruptive demonstration at a Berkeley City Council session on February 27, 1968 to protest recent weapons charges filed against Seale and other Panthers and to demand black community control of its own police force.⁸

Late in 1968, Panthers and white allies circulated petitions in the cities of Berkeley, Oakland, and Richmond, seeking enough signatures of registered voters to compel a referendum on the decentralized police force proposal in city elections in the spring of 1969. Injustice and brutality were ostensibly curable by autonomous departments administered by police commissions. Commissioners would be selected by a Neighborhood Police Control Council elected by the community. Police departments within a city would share facilities, but police officers would be required to live in the community they served, according to an explanation in The Black Panther.⁹

Although precise details were to be worked out locally, based on the actual ethnic composition of the population, separate black and white police departments were envisioned in all cities. However, in Berkeley, home of the University of California and sizable contingents of radical youth, the Panthers proposed an autonomous police department for the student community.¹⁰ When the petition campaign was undertaken in San Francisco later in 1969, separate police forces were proposed for black, brown, Chinese-American, white, and special "ruling class" sections of the city.¹¹

PROSECUTIONS OF PANTHERS

To some observers, the turn of the Black Panther

Party in 1969 toward more legalistic forms of "struggle" against the establishment was motivated by: 1) recognition that rebellions were not going to cascade into imminent black revolution, and 2) the fact that the revolutionary examples which the Panthers were setting with their paramilitary emphasis on guns and belligerent police confrontations were leading to serious criminal charges against Panther leaders from coast to coast. As prosecutions appeared to jeopardize the very ability of national headquarters and major chapters to operate, Seale was also acknowledging the inability of the party to count on much support from older persons in the black communities.

A review of some of the legal difficulties in which Panther leaders found themselves in late 1968 and early 1969 indicates that the party's self-interest was served by reassignment of priorities to emphasize the "political" role of the party rather than its military aspects.

Panther run-ins on national and chapter levels with law enforcement authorities were chronicled in the Panther newspaper as an editorial policy, and it is possible, largely through such sources, to see some of the problems facing the party. In the six-month period from December 1968 through May 1969, for example, it appeared that national officers found themselves in the following situations:

Newton, defense minister, was serving a two to 15-year prison sentence while appealing his September 8, 1968 conviction on a manslaughter charge.

Cleaver, minister of information, was a parolee whose role in the April 6, 1968 shootout with Oakland police raised the possibility not only of a court trial but also revocation of parole, which would send him back to prison to complete his sentence for an earlier crime. Cleaver had been temporarily jailed after the shootout but was released on bail in June 1968. He was scheduled to report to San Quentin Prison on November 27 for a parole revocation hearing. He chose to become a fugitive from justice and left the country instead and forfeited \$50,000 bail. Cleaver lived quietly in Cuba until the press publicized his presence there in May 1969. By June 1969, he had taken up new quarters in Algeria, where he functioned openly as Panther minister of information in exile.

Seale, chairman, was still facing a weapons charge

growing out of a February 25, 1968 police raid on his home when he was indicted on March 20, 1969 with seven other individuals on Federal charges of conspiracy to cross State lines to incite riots when the Democratic National Convention met in Chicago in August 1968. Seale was arrested on March 25, but released on bail.¹²

Hilliard, chief of staff, was under indictment for assault and attempted murder as a result of his role in the April 6, 1968 shootout in Oakland.¹³

Warren Wells, one of the eight Panthers arrested in the April 6, 1968 shootout involving national Panther officers, went on trial in Oakland on December 2, 1968, on charges of attempted murder and assault with a deadly weapon. A hung jury on December 20, 1968 led to a second trial and another hung jury in April 1969. (A third trial, however, resulted on October 29, 1969 in a one to 15-year prison sentence on one of the counts--assault with a deadly weapon.)¹⁴

CHAPTER DIFFICULTIES WITH THE LAW

The Panther newspaper reported a total of eleven Los Angeles Panthers arrested on weapons charges on three different occasions between January 17 and February 26, 1969. A police raid on the Los Angeles Panther office on May 1, 1969 resulted in nine additional Panther arrests.

(The Los Angeles situation was complicated by a power struggle between the Panthers and a local black nationalist group known as US. On January 17, 1969, members of US shot and killed two Panthers on the University of California's Los Angeles campus. The Panthers, students at the university, were disputing with US over the right to pick a director for a new black studies program at the institution. The feud spilled over into San Diego where a Panther was fatally shot in May of 1969, and another met the same fate in June.)¹⁵

Panthers in Denver, Colorado reported that a police raid on their office on December 7, 1968 yielded four weapons and that another raid on December 21 led to the arrest of four of the party members. In mid-December, a local leader went on trial on arson charges stemming from his arrest the preceding summer.

Reports from the Panther organization in Chicago

indicated that Panther officers or members were involved in: 12 arrests for misdemeanors or weapons charges on December 12, 1968; two arrests on weapons charges and one for aggravated battery during January 1969; one assault case in February; one weapons arrest and three arrests for "attempted murder" in March. By April, more serious charges of conspiracy to commit murder and armed robbery were brought against six Panthers. Some of them were also accused of trying to buy machine guns. The top Illinois Panther, Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton, was charged with aggravated battery on March 22, 1969. On May 26, 1969, he was sentenced to two to five years in jail in this case which involved an attack in July 1968 on an ice cream truck driver, thus permitting other youths to steal from the truck.¹⁶

In Des Moines, Iowa, police officers aided by FBI agents were alleged to have descended on the local Panther headquarters on December 27, 1968, and arrested two individuals on charges of suspected arson. A warrant was out at the time for a Panther leader suspected of involvement in fires at several local firms in October. On April 26, 1969, a dynamite blast demolished the Des Moines chapter headquarters. Representatives of the police department and a member of the Panther chapter at the time traded accusations in HCIS testimony that the other was the cause of the blast.¹⁷

Panther offices in Indianapolis, were raided on December 18, 1968, on a report that a sub-machine gun would be found there. No such gun was found. On the same date in Des Moines it was reported that three Panthers were arrested for misdemeanors.¹⁸

In Jersey City on December 5, 1968, the head of the local Panther Party and two other members were arrested and jailed on charges of complicity in the machine gun strafing of a police precinct station on November 29, 1968. (When a mistrial was declared in the case on July 10, 1970, the prosecution agreed not to press for a new trial after the defendants pleaded guilty to a reduced charge of possession of explosives or a firearm.)¹⁹

The firebombing of a newspaper office in Lakewood, N.J., on January 1, 1969, led to the arrest of three members of the Panther Party on arson charges. A Panther lieutenant of defense was subsequently convicted and sentenced to five to seven years in prison in the case.²⁰

New York City Panthers reported arrests of two of their number on weapons charges in January 1969, three similar arrests in February, and two arrests on assault charges in March. Three individuals were arrested on January 17, 1969, on more serious charges of conspiracy to kill two Harlem policemen. Charges were dismissed for insufficient evidence, but the trio was rearrested in February for attempted armed robbery. This case was still pending when the three were indicted with 18 other New York City Panthers on April 2, 1969.

The April 2 indictment charged 21 key leaders and members of the New York chapter with plotting to assassinate police officers and to dynamite city department stores, a police station, and a railroad right-of-way.²¹

As Federal authorities were scouring the country for fugitives in the New York conspiracy case, an indictment was brought against the acting deputy chairman and seven other members of the New Haven Black Panther chapter on May 22, 1969. The "New Haven 8" were charged with murder and conspiracy to commit murder in the torture slaying earlier that month of Alex Rackley, suspected by Panthers of being a police informant, according to authorities.²²

11

PANTHERS CHARGE NATIONWIDE PLOT TO DESTROY PARTY

The press charged that a Federal grand jury began secret sessions in San Francisco on April 30, 1969, for the specific purpose of investigating activities of the Black Panther Party. Panther attorneys stated that the Federal Government was probably contemplating charging the party with violation of Smith Act prohibitions against violent overthrow of the Government.²³

After the indictments of the "New York 21" in April, Panther Chief of Staff Hilliard declared that law enforcement authorities were clearly embarked on a move to "wipe out" the Panther leadership, which now embraced not only a national headquarters but "some 40 chapters."²⁴

A statement issued from national headquarters in the name of the party's central committee found the New York case to be final evidence of a "capitalist-racist government's attempt to try and destroy the Black Panther Party." The

jailings and court trials, the committee hoped, would be answered by a nationwide campaign to free Newton and "all political prisoners."

When attorney William Kunstler appeared at a hearing for New York Panthers the day after their conspiracy indictment, he compared the charges to Nazi arrests of communists on false charges of setting fire to the German Parliament (Reichstag) in 1934.²⁵ Thereafter, the charge of "Fascism" was hurled at the Government with increasing frequency by the Panthers.

If it weren't for Newton, the central committee statement pointed out, "free breakfasts for children programs before school would not be spreading across the nation. If it wasn't for Huey P. Newton, the idea of having free medicine and free health clinics wouldn't be in the process of being implemented."²⁶

The Panthers' national deputy minister of information sought to convey the same image of the party in a speech to a student press group at the University of Colorado in August 1969. The establishment press had "grossly misinformed" the public on the aims of the Panther Party, he said. Although the media image was one of hatred and violence, the Panthers had a little-publicized "positive" side demonstrated by its free breakfasts for children and medical clinics.²⁷

PURGING THE "JACKANAPES" FROM THE PARTY

A "jackanape," Panther Chairman Seale explained, is fearless but foolish. He winds up in jail through his carelessness with guns. He puts his "pot" and "wine" above the party's interests, and uses his gun to "rip off" (take by stealth or force) what he needs.

After the close of the Newton murder trial in September 1968 the Panther leadership began a purge of members considered liabilities. "Jackanapes" were expelled in far greater number than suspected by informants for law enforcement agencies.²⁸

The "brothers on the block" who were prone to fight and to hustle for an unethical dollar had been deliberately selected as the membership base of the new Panther Party

in 1966. Late in 1968, Chairman Seale publicly insisted that petty criminal actions were against the rules of the Black Panther Party and attributed regularly reported arrests of Panthers around the nation for criminal activities to the work of provocateurs, police agents, or a "nationwide harassment" of the party by law enforcement agencies.

The party's own publication recounted arrests and prosecutions in 1968 and 1969 which showed that Panthers from Seattle to New York were facing such charges as pimping and pandering, purse snatching, armed robbery and burglary, arson, drug violations, and even attempted hijacking.

Seale acknowledged that police raids and arrests of Panthers led to mounting bail costs which were draining party finances and that prosecutions "were directly related" to the party's purge.²⁹

Internal dissension increased as longtime Panthers found themselves denied bail while others favored by leaders had access to party defense funds. As disillusioned members began to leave the organization in growing numbers, some of them were willing to reveal inner secrets of party life.³⁰ Seale publicly announced in January 1969 that, with exceptions decided upon by the leadership, the party would no longer post bail for its members. Panther rallies held in the San Francisco and Los Angeles areas in January and February 1969 were billed as fund-raising affairs for the legal expenses of top party officials Newton and Cleaver (who forfeited \$50,000 bond in fleeing the country).³¹

The purge officially began in January 1969, although preliminaries were already underway in September. The party stopped taking in members for three months, and the chairman claimed that about 1,000 members and many local chapters were eventually cut away from the organization. (According to the Panthers' definition, purged members included those who had voluntarily departed.)

The organization had adopted its first ten rules in 1968; an expanded set of 26 rules appeared in the Panther newspaper in January 1969. The party also insisted that "political education" classes be conducted in chapters as part of an effort to produce a closer knit, more disciplined "political" organization that would help extricate the party from the tangle of legal difficulties in which it found itself by early 1969.

The distinctive black beret and leather jacket of the Panthers were seen less often beginning in late 1968. Newton instructed that the beret be worn only on ceremonial occasions rather than in day-to-day activity. New Jersey Panthers announced the discard of the uniform in December 1968 when police-Panther confrontations were marked by considerable violence. Although some chapters' members sported the Panther uniform in spite of the injunction, the Panthers' national education secretary claimed that by June 1969 "uniforms are almost totally gone."³² (See chapter 2 for further details of the organizational housecleaning effort in late 1968 and early 1969.)

The measures culminated in an even more ambitious reorganizational scheme to tie the once strongly nationalist Panther Party more closely to the white allies whose support was considered a necessity at this critical juncture in the party's history. This was the party's effort to build a "United Front Against Fascism."

BUILDING A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

The party announced in The Black Panther of May 31, 1969, that it would hold a "Revolutionary Conference for a United Front Against Fascism" in Oakland in July, in order to develop a "national force" working for freedom for all "political prisoners" in a "fascist, capitalistic, racist America."

Students, workers, "farmer-peasants," and the "lumpenproletariat" were invited to enter into a "united front" with the Panthers against the pressures of law enforcement authorities (which the Panthers pointed out were not only heavy on black militants but also on white radicals, especially students, in this period of widespread campus strife).

Chairman Seale's speech greeting some 3,000 delegates to the three-day conference in Oakland Auditorium beginning July 18, 1969, outlined the Panthers' idea of projects on which blacks and whites could unite:

- 1) circulation in American cities of petitions to put the previously described Panther plan for decentralized, autonomous police departments on election ballots;
- 2) building a lawyers' defense committee to work for

the freedom of all "revolutionary political prisoners."33

After various plenary sessions and workshops, Newton's attorney, Charles Garry, announced that lawyers and law students at the conference had gotten together and formed a lawyers' committee under his direction to defend Panthers and white student radicals and that efforts would be made to build a nationwide defense fund for bail money and legal fees.

However, the mechanism by which the Panthers sought to create a continuous link between the black militants and whites willing to work in the Panthers' behalf was National Committees to Combat Fascism (NCCF). They were, despite the title, local committees "coordinated" by Panther headquarters in Berkeley. Applications were circulated at the UFAF conference for membership in such committees, and Seale reported some 1,500 persons signed up.

The immediate task of the committees, Seale told white leftists, was to work as autonomous groups on petition campaigns in behalf of decentralized police forces. The committees were also described as local "defense" groups for "political prisoners," who were vaguely identified as "revolutionaries," including Black Panthers and students in legal difficulties as a result of campus activity.

Membership in an NCCF was actually expected to be multiracial; appeals were made not only to black and white Americans but also to Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, Japanese-American, and American-Indian minorities. Members of NCCFs were not expected to share the Black Panther Party's nationalist ideas about the need for "self-determination" for black communities, but Panther leaders let it be known at the conference that ideological squabbling among white radical allies in NCCFs would not be tolerated. The united front, Newton said in a message to the conference, should without "bickering" develop a program directed against what the Panthers considered the main enemy--the Army and police. A united front, Seale told the delegates, had to be built by hard work on a community "action" program and not a "jive ideological struggle."34

Seale's remarks were addressed to an audience that was mainly young, more than 75 per cent white, and reflective of many warring old left and new left viewpoints about

the "correct" way to bring socialism or communism to America. From 40 to 50 organizations were represented.

The Communist Party, U.S.A. boasted a role on the steering committee which arranged the conference along with the new left Students for a Democratic Society and a nonwhite coalition from the campuses, the Third World Liberation Front. The Panthers' lawyers were on the steering committee and were also co-sponsors of the conference call. Another co-sponsor was Tom Hayden, founder of the Students for a Democratic Society and co-defendant with Seale in a Federal court case arising out of their participation in violence-filled demonstrations during the Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

The prominence of CPUSA figures as speakers and moderators in the proceedings aroused protests from rival old and new left groups during and after the conference. Many of the organizations represented, including the largest radical youth group, SDS, were torn by internal divisions which further divided the white left even as the Panthers attempted to build a "united front" with it.³⁵

Under attack from various black nationalists prior to the conference for becoming a "front" for white radicals,³⁶ the Panthers found that their new allies, such as SDS, were actually unwilling to work for decentralized police forces in predominantly white communities. Other unenthusiastic white left groups expressed disappointment that to follow the lead of the revolutionary Panthers they were expected to promote an electoral campaign. The independent communist news weekly, Guardian, conceded, however, that after all, it was the Panthers who were going to jail.³⁷

Within less than a month, Panther officers were angrily announcing in their newspaper that they were not going to be dictated to by any group, and those like SDS and various other new and old leftists who did not aid the party in its bid for black control of black communities were "oppressors," "pigs," "fascists," and "sissies." Such epithets were hurled at their critics by Chairman Seale and Chief of Staff Hilliard in a joint interview in the underground Berkeley Barb in August. "And if the young white people of Babylon are not willing to follow the vanguard's lead, manifested in black people in America, not just the Black Panther Party, then we say well, right on racists, right on enemies," Hilliard said. "... And we're going to create a situation that the

black community is going to be liberated territory and if it has to be a situation where we can only allow people of other ethnic groups that we can trust to come in, then that's what we want."³⁸

Panther leaders insisted that they had disagreements as well with the "bureaucracy" known as the Communist Party, U.S.A., which would not be allowed to dominate the Panthers. Alliances would be limited to "factions" within the CPUSA, they said.

The only "real revolutionaries" in the white community, in the Panthers' view at this time, were the Young Patriots, who were respected, according to Seale, because they agreed to work hard on circulating police decentralization petitions in the "poor white" sections of Chicago.³⁹ The field secretary of the Young Patriots, in a speech at the United Front Against Fascism conference, had declared that his Chicago-based group of "white revolutionaries" was already cooperating with the Illinois section of the Panther Party. The Young Patriots, he explained, were children of poor white Appalachian families which had moved to Chicago from hardship areas in such States as Kentucky and North Carolina.

The Panthers' United Front Against Fascism conference immediately spawned 15 National Committees to Combat Fascism, Seale reported.⁴⁰ Almost a year later, however, The Black Panther recorded only 13 committees operating in ten states and the District of Columbia.⁴¹

The NCCF in Omaha, Nebraska illustrates how one such committee operated. The committee functioned in a city where there was no Black Panther Party chapter and implemented the same "community" projects expected of the chapters: propaganda in behalf of community control of police forces; free breakfasts for schoolchildren; and a "liberation" school.⁴²

ACTUAL PANTHER PERFORMANCE IN SERVING THE PEOPLE

Other than the "voter registration" assistance which was available through the Panther Party's new community information centers in 1970, HCIS investigations disclosed little Panther involvement in electoral politics as supporters or candidates after 1968.

Investigation revealed relatively little implementation by Panther members and their allies of the party mandate at the UFAF conference to seek decentralization of police departments through the electoral process.

The major effort in this campaign appeared to concentrate in cities near national headquarters. Since 1968, it has been shown that Panthers and white supporters in the Peace and Freedom Party sought to obtain enough signatures of registered voters to put the proposition on the ballot in elections in Oakland, Berkeley, and Richmond. By August 1969, petitions were being circulated in San Francisco by members of the Panther Party and the National Committee to Combat Fascism. They were also circulated that month in Philadelphia by Panthers taking advantage of sentiment after a fatal shooting of a youth by police.⁴³

There was no evidence that petitions had ever been circulated or even contemplated by any of the seven Panther chapters on which HCIS hearings focused. This was true of some of the local committees to combat "Fascism" which later appeared in their stead. An "anti-Fascist" committee of the Panthers in Omaha, however, "talked" about the proposal before an interracial community group late in 1969. A Panther representative indicated that one day soon the chapter intended to get together with a "team of lawyers" and prepare a petition for subdividing Omaha into separate police jurisdictions.⁴⁴

An HCIS questionnaire, sent to police departments during the committee's investigation of the Panther Party in 1970, included a request for information on police decentralization campaigns. Responses were received from police departments in 27 of the cities in which Panther organizations were currently active. Four of the Panther groups were reported to be pushing such campaigns, eleven had made some attempt in the past to implement the project, and 12 affiliates had made no discernible effort.

The only known Panther success in getting the question on a city ballot was registered after more than two years of campaigning on the issue in Berkeley, California. More than 15,000 signatures were obtained by Panthers and their allies in the Berkeley National Committee to Combat Fascism to compel a referendum of the city's voters in April 1971 on the idea of creating three separate police departments. They would serve a black community, a white community, and a "hippie" and student community near the

University of California campus, according to testimony before HCIS.⁴⁵

By such a proposal for division of the city, the Panthers could count on some support from within the 28,000-strong student body at the State university as well as from residents of an adjacent community which was described in HCIS testimony as the mecca for all of the dissident youth in the United States. Voters in the April 6, 1971, election rejected the proposition, however, by an approximate two to one ratio.⁴⁶

In other cities, the campaign may have foundered on problems such as those reported by a volunteer in the petition campaign conducted in Oakland in 1968. The proposal, the volunteer reported, aroused little enthusiasm among white activists or the white citizen majority of a city because it lacked "relevance."⁴⁷

Difficulties were also encountered by those Panthers who tried to carry out Chairman Seale's promise in the November 16, 1968 issue of the Panther paper to institute "free health clinics in the black community from the Ministry of Health of the Black Panther Party."

Although no appointment was ever announced to a national "Ministry of Health," a number of chapters announced in the party's newspaper the opening or imminent opening of free medical clinics. The earliest known effort was the "Bobby Hutton Community Clinic," whose grand opening on August 20, 1969, in Kansas City, Missouri, was over a pharmacy; the center depended upon community donations of money, medical supplies, and professional services.

Testimony received by HCIS in an in-depth investigation into Panther activities in Kansas City showed that services of one doctor had been volunteered as well as the use of a car to transport "patients." The Panthers acknowledged by September that "administrative problems" beset the program. A visit by a staff investigator to the site in February 1970 showed the project had been abandoned.⁴⁸

HCIS witnesses testified that clinics were actually operative in Seattle and Philadelphia.⁴⁹ Eyewitness evidence was available regarding the functioning of the "Sidney Miller Medical Clinic" which opened December 1, 1969, in the headquarters of the Seattle Black Panther chapter. A doctor

helped to found and operate the clinic, which was open two days per week, a former Seattle Panther said, but lack of privacy and the presence of Panthers with guns tended to discourage community use of the facility. Services offered involved "referrals" more often than treatment.⁵⁰

A "People's Free Health Clinic" was serving citizens in Brooklyn, New York, in November 1969 under the auspices of the local Panther Party branch. The Panther chapter in Chicago was making preparations in October 1969 to initiate such services, but subsequent problems were reported in raising more than \$1,000 required for medical equipment.⁵¹ In the party's newspaper for June 20, 1970, a list of local affiliated organizations included a medical clinic in Los Angeles and health and dental clinics in Portland, Oregon.

The HCIS survey of police authorities in cities having Panther affiliates disclosed that of 27 active Panther groups reported upon, only four had an on-going program of medical assistance and only one had attempted such service in the past.

Four of the 27 functioning affiliates reported upon by police departments also had programs for distributing free clothing, and an equal number of affiliates had previously engaged in such activity. The Seattle chapter sponsored such a program, and reports appearing in the Panther newspaper during September and October 1969 indicated that the new community service was being added by affiliates in New York City, Jersey City, Philadelphia, and Chicago.

FREE BREAKFASTS FOR SCHOOLCHILDREN

The Panther-initiated free breakfasts for schoolchildren were the most thoroughly implemented and most successful of all community service projects. The party newspaper reported that by the end of 1969, breakfasts were being served in 19 cities under the sponsorship of the national headquarters organization and 23 local affiliates. As a result, more than 20,000 children received "full, free breakfasts" before going to their grade school or junior high school classes during 1969, the newspaper claimed.⁵²

All seven of the local affiliates on which the HCIS received testimony in 1970 operated breakfast programs. At their peak operation, breakfasts were being served in at

least three different locations simultaneously in Seattle, Kansas City, Detroit, and Philadelphia and in two centers in Des Moines. The previously described police department reports to HCIS on 27 active Panther affiliates showed that by the fall of 1970, only eight were operating breakfast programs and eight others had discontinued such programs, due to lack of funds or poor organization.

Breakfasts were usually served in churches, with community centers the second most common location. Many were located in predominantly black neighborhoods, but the program also fed children of other ethnic groups. One of the programs in Seattle, in fact, operated in a neighborhood described as predominantly white and middle class.

The Panther newspaper in October 1968 began advertising for volunteers to prepare and serve free breakfasts in a church in Berkeley. The program apparently became operative in January 1969, when breakfasts were served in the Bay area at a Berkeley church; a church and a black community center in Oakland; and at an auditorium in San Francisco. From the inception of the program, the party sought to recruit "welfare mothers," grandmothers, and guardians in "the black community" to prepare and serve the breakfasts. The party announced that it expected businesses in black and other minority communities to donate the necessary food and utensils, these to be supplemented by funds from "concerned" citizens. Citizens' "advisory" committees were created to increase community support. "We want to turn the program over to the community," the Panther newspaper declared.⁵³

The humanitarian aspect of feeding children in low socioeconomic circumstances and the self-supporting nature of the project contributed to its introduction throughout the country in 1969. After the initial organizing impetus provided by a local Panther affiliate, some of the breakfast programs were in fact wholly taken over by other individuals and groups in other communities, HCIS investigations disclosed.⁵⁴

Hearings revealed instances in which Panthers maintained direct supervision of a breakfast program and also introduced schoolchildren to the Panthers' hostile outlook on the American government and law enforcement authorities. Panther-directed programs, however, were often short-lived due to abuse of the facilities as well as poor management.

Considerable hostility was aroused within the black community as a result of such Panther efforts to combine breakfasts with indoctrination. As previously noted, the breakfasts were intended to improve the Panther Party image in the community. Its previous stance had led to prosecutions and isolation from community elements whose aid was invaluable to any legal defense effort. The party continued, however, to advertise its long-term revolutionary outlook, and described its breakfast, health, and other community programs as educating people to the failure of the "capitalist" system and the need to "survive this evil government and build a new one fit for the service of all the people."⁵⁵

A recitation drill for children attending the Panther "breakfast" program in Seattle was submitted in testimony to the HCIS:

PANTHER. What do the Panthers believe?
CHILDREN. All power to the people.
PANTHER. Who are the capitalists?
CHILDREN. They are the pigs who control the country.
PANTHER. What do the capitalists do?
CHILDREN. They steal from the poor.
PANTHER. How do they steal from the poor?
CHILDREN. They make the poor pay taxes and this makes the capitalists richer and the poor poorer.
PANTHER. What should happen with capitalists?
CHILDREN. Off the pig.
PANTHER. Should the capitalist share his money with the poor?
CHILDREN. Yes.
PANTHER. If they don't, what should we do?
CHILDREN. Take it, because it belongs to the people.
QUESTION. Who do we love?
ANSWER. The people.
QUESTION. Who are police?
ANSWER. They are the pigs.
QUESTION. What do they do?
ANSWER. They work for the capitalists.
QUESTION. How do they work for the capitalists?
ANSWER. They put poor people in jail, they kill people, and they keep the people poor by not letting them get good jobs and be free.
QUESTION. What do the Panthers believe?

- ANSWER. Off the pig.
QUESTION. Why are the pigs going to kill Bob Seale?
ANSWER. Because he wants freedom for all people.
QUESTION. Why do the Panthers kill pigs?
ANSWER. Because they want freedom for all people.
QUESTION. What happened to Eldridge Cleaver?
ANSWER. He had to leave the country to keep the pigs from killing him.

Parents complained to authorities about such chapters as those in Kansas City, Des Moines, and Seattle, which displayed photographs of Panther leaders and used posters, songs, and chants to teach children--in simplified form--the following message: police officers are "pigs" who should be "offed" because they mistreat black citizens and help to preserve an inhuman capitalist society in America.

In Des Moines, according to a former Panther who participated in the program, children were told that the police were the first and most visible level of "oppressors" of the people, and they protected a second level of oppressors--the businessman--and still a third level--the politicians. A revolutionary was represented as someone who, like historical American figures, calls for overturning the system when it no longer serves the purposes of the people.⁵⁶

In several cities, investigation disclosed that Panthers used extortion methods in soliciting food and funds from inner city merchants for the breakfast programs. Merchants were advised that their businesses would be burned or bombed if they did not respond favorably to Panther solicitations.

On March 6, 1970, Paul E. Levitt, a Kansas City businessman, described his confrontation with the Panthers. Mr. Levitt testified to the HCIS committee about a dialogue that he had with a man he was able to identify from a photograph as Thomas Robinson, Jr., an active member of the Kansas City chapter of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. Levitt testified:

He came into the store. I was on the register, and he threw down a Black Panther paper and he said, 'Hey, man, I want to talk to you.' I said, 'I will be with you in a minute.'

He said, 'I want to talk to you now, man. I don't want to wait.'

I said, 'I will be with you in a few minutes.'

He said, 'I want you right now. Right now.'

I said, 'I will be with you in a few minutes.'

As soon as the cashier came back I went over to talk to him.

He said, 'Do you know who I represent?'

I said, 'No, I don't.'

He said, 'What does that paper say?'

I said, 'I see what it says, but I don't know who you represent. Who are you?'

He said, 'I don't have to tell you who I am.'

He said, 'I am here for a donation.'

I said, 'What type of donation?'

He said, 'Man, I represent the Black Panthers.'

I said, 'Well, what are you demanding?'

He said, 'I am demanding money.'

I didn't ask him what kind of money because at that time I was rather disturbed and I said to him, 'I will have to consult with my other two partners.' I have two other partners and myself.

He said, 'Man, you are running this store at this time and you are going to contribute.'

I said, 'I can't possibly contribute without consulting my other two partners.'

He said, 'Well, we are going to show you that you are.' He started lighting matches and throwing them all over the place. I said, 'That doesn't even convince me, and I will give you another package of matches to help you along with it.'

He went on with his profanity, which I don't care to go into at this time. About that time I told him that there wasn't anything I could do for him. As he left, he said, 'You will hear from me.'

The next day I got a phone call. The voice first asked, 'Are you the manager?'

I said, 'Yes, I am the manager.'

He said, 'Get my black brothers out of there because I am going to blow your place up and every one of my black brothers has to get out of there because we are going to blow you up.'

This quite concerned me because this was the first telephone call I got.

MR. SANDERS. Did you recognize the voice?

MR. LEVITT. Yes, I did recognize the voice. It was the same identical individual. He has a

high-pitched voice.

Anyway, I called the police downtown and reported it.⁵⁷

Attempts by Mr. Levitt to press charges were frustrated in the courts, but while he was attempting to press charges numerous leaders in the community approached him and attempted to get him to drop the charges. According to HCIS testimony the same Panther was subject to charges in another case of extortion involving another company.

In Seattle, Washington, Safeway Stores, a large food chain, received a letter from the Black Panther Party signed by Elmer Dixon, one of the persons who formed the Black Panther Party chapter in Seattle. The letter demanded \$100 a week in food or funds for the Black Panther breakfast program. If this money was not forthcoming the store was threatened with a boycott, and the amount would be raised \$25 a week after the first week of boycotting until the demands were accepted. An affidavit entered into the record of the HCIS committee and signed by Merrill A. Cox, the personnel manager of Safeway Stores Inc., Seattle Division, stated that during the picketing of the Safeway Store, after they refused to pay the extortion, numerous customers were threatened with bodily injury by the pickets.

Mr. Cox himself was threatened on three occasions, during one of which he was told he would get his throat cut. During the picketing a bomb threat against the store was phoned in to the police.⁵⁸

Chet Gasca, an employee of Safeway Stores, submitted an affidavit to HCIS in which he stated that he was threatened on a number of occasions during the picketing by members of the Black Panther Party, one of whom said that he would be waiting for him that night so he could "blow my head apart with his gun."⁵⁹

James M. Clark, security manager of the Seattle Division of Safeway Stores, submitted an affidavit in which he stated that during the picketing he observed Elmer Dixon and other Panthers using a bullhorn and shouting such things as "We're going to bomb the store."⁶⁰

The amount of money extorted from merchants is unknown. Nor is it known how much of the money actually

went into the breakfast program and how much was appropriated for other Panther use.

On July 29, 1970, a \$20,000 cashier's check was deposited to the Black Panther Party account. The check was anonymous and drawn to the order of the Black Panther Party breakfast program. It was deposited with the endorsement, "Black Panther Party Breakfast Program, Black Panther Party, Patricia Hilliard." Mrs. Hilliard was identified as the finance secretary of the Black Panther Party. At the time of this deposit there was \$10.22 in the bank. On August 5, Mrs. Hilliard drew a check payable to cash for \$20,000 drawn on this account. She immediately purchased a cashier's check for \$20,000 payable to the Alameda County clerk as part of the bail for Panther leader Huey Newton.

The HCIS committee attempted to ascertain the identity of the individual who had made the \$20,000 contribution, to ask him whether he was aware that his money had been used not for the breakfast program as he had designated, but for Huey Newton's bail. The committee learned that the check had been sent by Paul Moore III of New York City. Mr. Moore was sent a telegram affording him the opportunity to discuss this check with the HCIS committee staff. Western Union advised that the telegram had been delivered but Mr. Moore made no attempt to contact the committee staff on this matter.

A former active member of the Black Panther Party who did not wish his name revealed told HCIS committee investigators that after Huey Newton went to jail in October 1967, the Party hierarchy (namely David Hilliard) insisted that the members should not have jobs because a job would be too time-consuming and the Party came first. Although the ruling group received money for their personal expenses from Party funds, the rank and file members were not given so much as subsistence money. As a result it became necessary for members who had no other means of subsistence to engage in robberies, larceny and burglaries in order to get enough money to live. Hilliard, who was by now Chief of Staff, while advocating the policy of having the Panther members "liberate goods," would demand 90 per cent of the take or proceeds and permit the member to keep the remaining ten per cent. Hilliard would not, however, support a Panther brother if he were caught committing a crime unless the member was among the favored few. If the member chose not to split with the Party or questioned the use of the

money by Hilliard himself, Hilliard would order the members to "move on him," which meant to convince him physically that proceeds had to be turned over with no questions asked.

Hilliard definitely did not want a criminal act traced to himself or others of the ruling group. The hierarchy was both too wise and afraid to become involved in actually perpetrating crimes of this nature. The source pointed out that as a result they selected people who were stupid enough to go out and commit burglaries and robberies in the name of the "Panther cause." He cited as an example the case of Wendell Wade. Wade was arrested for robbery while he was a Panther member in good standing. No assistance was afforded Wade by the Panther Party and Hilliard made the statement that Wade was a provocateur agent. Wade subsequently received a five-year sentence in San Quentin Prison. According to the source, Hilliard's policy in this regard was responsible for much disaffection among Party members. The double standard policy was regarded by the source as one of the primary reasons for members leaving the Party. He cited other discrepancies such as the leaders not really intending to serve the people as they purported, but rather attempting to get for themselves what they wanted, i.e., money, power, prestige, etc.⁶¹

PANTHER EFFORTS AT "POLITICAL EDUCATION"

The Black Panther Party's ten-point platform and program, reproduced in every issue of the party paper in 1969, appeared in revised form beginning with the July 5 issue. The paper offered no explanation for the new demand No. 3, which called for an "end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community." The demand until this time had identified the robber of the black community as "the white man."

The same issue of the paper also described two new Panther projects to provide "political education" to black Americans. "Liberation Schools" for children--already started in the Bay area--and soon forthcoming "Community Political Education classes" for adults were represented as the newest methods by which the Panthers would attempt to educate the masses to the need for a "socialist" solution to their problems.

Liberation schools would replace the free breakfasts for schoolchildren when schools closed for the summer recess. As Chairman Seale explained at a press conference in June 1969, the Panthers expected donations from merchants and others to continue so that children would receive both breakfasts and lunches in every church which had opened its doors during the school year. At the morning-long liberation school, however, Panthers intended to teach children about "the class struggle in terms of black history" and other subjects, Seale said.⁶²

The party announced the opening of its first liberation school in its headquarters city, Berkeley, on June 25, 1969, and others in Oakland and San Francisco five days later. They were implementing, the party newspaper said, the demand in the party platform for an education for black people which "exposes the true nature of this decadent American society" and teaches "our true history and our role in the present-day society."

Youngsters at the first such school in Berkeley were taught that "revolutionaries are changers," the party paper reported. Through a combination of talks, songs, films, field trips, and exercise programs, youngsters ranging in age from two to 13 were learning how Panthers fight for "the people" by seeking the "destruction" of the greedy businessman, the lying politician, and the racist "pig."

The flamboyance with which the Panthers introduced their liberation schools was illustrated by banner headlines in their paper publicizing the project. "The Youth Make the Revolution," one headline declared. "Liberation Schools Revolutionize the Youth," said another.⁶³

Panthers encountered community resistance to the schools from their inception, their own publication revealed. A program in a San Francisco church lasted one day and a school in a Richmond recreation department facility closed after an hour and a half. As church, government, and community leaders began making their objections known, not only were schools forced to shift quarters constantly, but donations were also hard to come by, the Panthers acknowledged.⁶⁴

Only two of seven Panther affiliates which were the subject of testimony before HCIS were reported to have operated liberation schools. Classes begun in the headquarters

building of the Omaha affiliate late in 1969 lasted about a week, according to testimony. Instruction of about eight to 12 students took place in the evenings, with a hot dinner as a reward, and the information that "enemies" of poor people were the "avaricious businessmen," the "demagogic politicians," and "the brutalizing, murderous, sadistic, terrorizing pig cop."⁶⁵

A school opened in the headquarters of the Des Moines Panther chapter in May 1970 and offered free lunches. Between 12 and 20 children of elementary age attended;⁶⁶ however, details were not available concerning the degree of success of the operation.

While breakfasts for schoolchildren often terminated with the school year, in some localities the program continued in the summertime. The effects of Panther indoctrination efforts in such projects have already been noted.

"Political education" classes for adults were held by many Panther locals, without the controversy and resentment surrounding the attempted indoctrination of youth. Former associates of five Panther chapters informed HCIS that classes for adult nonmembers were held at one time or another. Curious members of the community received informative lectures on the Panther Party objectives as well as some discussion of capitalism, fascism, and Mao's sayings during classes in the party's offices in Philadelphia and Detroit, for example. A deputy minister of education lectured on the "class struggle" to the Des Moines chapter's audiences, largely composed of white college students. The movie, "The Black Panther," was shown in both Des Moines and Kansas City. By the fall of 1970 only nine of 27 active Panther affiliates were holding "political education" classes for nonmember adults, according to the survey of police departments made by HCIS. The departments reported, however, that 14 out of 15 inactive affiliates had sponsored such classes while the groups were in operation.

NOTES

1. Anthony, op. cit.
2. Detailed in HCIS report on Students for a Democratic Society, op. cit.

3. Anthony, op. cit.
4. As will be seen, the Panther leaders stressed the "service" aspect of the party to older members of the black community and to other nonradical groups whose support was being solicited energetically beginning in 1969. To radical allies, the Panther leaders insisted the community service programs were "revolutionary" since they were advanced by a party seeking to prepare masses of people for an ultimate revolutionary struggle.
5. Seale explained the four "key" programs which the Panther Party would implement in 1969, in the new left publication, The Movement, March 1969, subsequently reprinted in The Black Panther, Mar. 3, 1969.

Panthers in Philadelphia, Pa., also engaged in electoral politics, however. Two chapter members obtained sufficient signatures to qualify as candidates for the city council, but each ran last in the final voting on Nov. 4, 1969. (Guardian, Oct. 4, 1969, p. 2, and Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, Nov. 5, 1969, p. 13.)
6. Guardian, Jan. 4, 1969.
7. Editorial statement by Deputy Minister of Information Elbert Howard, "The Hows and Whys of a Breakfast for Children Program," The Black Panther, Apr. 27, 1969, pp. 10, 11.
8. San Francisco Examiner, Feb. 28, 1968, and The Black Panther, Aug. 2, 1969.
9. The Black Panther, Jan. 15, 1969, p. 6.
10. Ibid.
11. San Francisco Sun-Reporter, Aug. 30, 1969.
12. See footnote 71, Chapter 2, "Black Panther Activities in the Early Years," for a description of subsequent charges of contempt of court and conspiracy to commit murder which kept the party's chairman in jail from Aug. 29, 1969 to May 28, 1971.
13. On June 12, 1971, a jury in Oakland superior court

found Hilliard innocent on two counts of attempted murder but found him guilty of two counts of assault as a result of the April 1968 shootout.

Hilliard also had been arrested on Feb. 25, 1968, in Berkeley, Calif., on charges of conspiracy to commit murder, carrying a concealed weapon, and carrying a loaded weapon in the city limits. A four-day trial on the last two counts in Berkeley municipal court ended Dec. 11, 1969, with a jury verdict of guilty of possessing a weapon but a hung jury on the concealed weapons charge. A sentence of six months in jail and a \$500 fine was imposed on Hilliard on Dec. 23, 1969. The jury verdict is being appealed.

On Dec. 3, 1969, Hilliard was arrested by Federal law enforcement authorities on charges of making a public threat against the life of President Nixon during a rally in San Francisco on Nov. 15, 1969. Hilliard was released on \$30,000 bond. A U.S. district court judge in San Francisco dismissed the indictment on May 4, 1971, after the Government declined to make a wiretap record available to defense.

A New Haven, Conn. judge on Apr. 14, 1970, sentenced Hilliard to six months in jail for contempt of court as a result of his behavior as a spectator at a pretrial hearing for Connecticut Panthers charged with conspiracy to commit murder. Hilliard was released when he apologized to the court on Apr. 21, 1970, and the judge modified the contempt sentence to the time already served.

14. Charles Bursey, another of the eight Panthers, was found guilty on Aug. 7, 1969, of both attempted murder and assault with a deadly weapon and sentenced subsequently to one to 15 years in prison, according to press accounts.
15. Convictions of US members were obtained in all of the cases, as Panthers deferred their hostilities with police to provide evidence and even testimony in some instances. (See Edward Jay Epstein, The New Yorker, Feb. 13, 1971).
16. Hampton was reported to be appealing the conviction. The Black Panther occasionally indicated that charges, summarized here, led to convictions or were dismissed, but disposition was usually not indicated. A summary of additional arrests of Panthers through

early 1970 appears in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 4, pp. 29-35.

17. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4. See also testimony of attorney general of the State of Iowa, Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, hearings on Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders, pt. 24, July 22, 1970, pp. 5513-5515.
18. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 3, and The Black Panther.
19. New York Times, Sept. 19, 1970.
20. Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, hearings on Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders, pt. 19, June 18, 1970.
21. The number of defendants increased to 22 when new indictments were handed down in November 1969, but the press continued to refer to them as the "New York 21." Not all the defendants were apprehended, and bail for those located was set at \$100,000 initially. The trial of 13 of the defendants opened in New York State Supreme Court in Manhattan in September 1970. On May 13, 1971, the jury returned verdicts acquitting the 13 defendants on all counts in the indictment. (Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, hearings, op. cit., pt. 19; New York Times, Apr. 3, 1969, pp. 1, 36; Feb. 1 and 3, 1970; May 14, 1971, p. 1.)
22. See Chapter 2, footnote 71, for subsequent developments in the case of the "New Haven 8."
23. Washington Post, May 2, 1969; repeated in Washington Post, Dec. 14, 1969. In testimony before a House Appropriations Subcommittee on Nov. 19, 1970, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover acknowledged that a grand jury in San Francisco "for some months" had been looking into Panther activity.
24. The Black Panther, Apr. 20, 1969, p. 18.
25. The Black Panther, Apr. 20, 1969.
26. Central committee statement in The Black Panther, Apr. 27, 1969, p. 14.

27. Rocky Mountain News, Denver, Colo., Aug. 13, 1969.
28. Seale, remarks at press conference of Apr. 19, 1969, printed in The Black Panther, Apr. 20, 1969, p. 6; also Seize the Time.
29. Seize the Time.
30. See Chapter 2.
31. People's World, 1969, p. 3, and Feb. 15, 1969, p. 3; and The Militant, Feb. 7, 1969, p. 15.
32. Seale, Seize the Time; Guardian, Dec. 14, 1968; The Black Panther, June 21, 1969, p. 16.
33. Information on the Panthers' United Front Against Fascism conference may be found in HCIS investigations and hearings on the BPP, including exhibit 22 to pt. 4 of the hearings; J. Edgar Hoover, testimony, Mar. 5, 1970, before House Appropriations Subcommittee; The Black Panther, July 26, 1969, and Aug. 2, 1969; Guardian, Aug. 2, 1969, and Aug. 16, 1969; The Militant, Aug. 1, 1969; Chicago Today, July 19, 1969; San Francisco Examiner, July 17, 1969; New York Times, July 21, 1969.
34. Some leftists later charged that the Panther Party was dictatorial and brooked no criticism of the Panther program at the conference. They pointed out that the Panthers themselves had barred from the conference the black nationalist US, a basically white Maoist communist group known as the Progressive Labor Party, and some Trotskyist communist organizations.
35. The splintering of the largest new left youth group beginning early in 1969 was described in HCIS report on SDS, op. cit.
36. Seale denied the party was a front for white radicals in The Black Panther, Mar. 3, 1969.
Just before the UFAF conference, Stokely Carmichael chose to issue a belated resignation from the Black Panther Party. In a press statement on July 3, 1969, Carmichael, then in residence in Guinea, said the Panthers had become dogmatic and denounced all who disagreed with them. He warned them against

domination by white allies in a wrong-headed effort to prepare for a biracial class struggle. (Washington Post, July 4, 1969.)

37. Guardian, Aug. 2, 1969.
38. Seale and Hilliard to Berkeley Barb, Aug. 4, 1969, reprinted in The Black Panther, Aug. 9, 1969; see also comments in The Black Panther, Aug. 3, 1969, and Guardian, Aug. 16, 1969.
39. Ibid.
40. The Militant, Aug. 1, 1969.
41. The Black Panther, June 20, 1970. Interestingly, the same publication listed even fewer Black Panther Party chapters: 12 chapters in 11 States.
42. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4; see also Black Realities, December, 1969. (Additional details on NCCFs appear in chapter 4 of this volume.)
43. San Francisco Sun-Reporter, Aug. 30, 1969, and Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, Aug. 29, 1969.
44. Black Realities, December 1969.
45. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, testimony of Frank I. Madigan, sheriff of Alameda County, which encompasses Berkeley; Guardian, Aug. 8, 1970, p. 8; New York Times, Aug. 16, 1970, p. 46; Washington Post, Apr. 8, 1971, p. A-32.
46. Testimony, op. cit., and Washington Post, Apr. 8, 1971. The proposed new police departments would have served a predominantly white community in North Berkeley and the Berkeley Hills area, a predominantly black West Berkeley community, and a third area including not only the territory around the University of California but also the central business district. (Pamphlet on candidates and issues in city of Berkeley general municipal election, Apr. 6, 1971, by Berkeley city clerk; and previously cited sources.)
47. People's World, Aug. 16, 1969.

48. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 1.
49. Opening of the Seattle clinic was announced in The Black Panther, Dec. 13, 1969, and the Philadelphia "free medical clinic" was described in The Black Panther, Jan. 31, 1970.
50. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 2, particularly Appendix D.
51. See The Black Panther, Oct. 11, 1969; Nov. 15, 1969; and June 20, 1970.
52. The national headquarters supervised a program in a church in the city where headquarters was located. Some affiliates sponsored programs in subdivisions of large cities, such as Watts section of Los Angeles and Brooklyn and Queens in New York City. The sites of programs were listed in The Black Panther, Nov. 15, 1969, and Dec. 27, 1969.
53. The Black Panther, Apr. 27, 1969, p. 3; see also issues dated Oct. 19, 1968, and Jan. 4, 1969, on early stages of the breakfast project.
54. Other members of the community carried on the breakfast programs in Kansas City, Des Moines, and Seattle, HCIS hearings showed.
55. The Black Panther, Apr. 27, 1969, p. 3.
56. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, testimony of Clive De Patten.
57. Black Panther Party hearings, pt. 1, pp. 2736 to 2737.
58. Ibid., pp. 4415-16.
59. Ibid., p. 4417.
60. Ibid., p. 4420.
61. Black Panther Party hearings, pt. 4, p. 5001.
62. Seale's statements at press conference appeared in The Black Panther, June 21, 1969, p. 14.
63. Descriptions of the earliest liberation schools appeared

in The Black Panther, July 5, 1969, and the headlines and additional articles appeared in the issue dated Aug. 2, 1969.

64. See The Black Panther, Aug. 2, 1969, and Aug. 9, 1969.
65. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, and Black Realities, December 1969.
66. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 3. Nor were specifics available regarding the seven out of 27 active Panther Party affiliates described, in police department responses to an HCIS questionnaire, as operating liberation schools. The survey also showed that ten of 15 inactive affiliates reported upon to HCIS had in the past sponsored a liberation school.

Chapter 4

THE PANTHER ORGANIZATION ON NATIONAL AND LOCAL LEVELS

... like Lenin, Huey created a Party, an instrument designed to cope with a specific situation at a specific time in the historical process of the development of society. (The Black Panther, editorial, March 16, 1968, p. 8.)

A lot of these people will go up to you in a minute and say, 'Why all these people being taken, why haven't they shot it out with some pigs.' Well, what do we say? If you kill a few, you get a little satisfaction. But when you can kill them ALL you get complete satisfaction. That's why we haven't moved. We have to organize the people. We have to educate the people. We have to arm the people. We have to teach them about revolutionary political power. And when they understand all that we won't be killing no few and getting no little satisfaction, we'll be killing em all and getting complete satisfaction. (Fred Hampton, deputy chairman, Illinois chapter, BPP, in The Black Panther, July 19, 1969, p. 7.)

Within the space of only two years, the Black Panther Party grew from a local operation in Oakland to an organization of from 1,500 to 2,000 members scattered in 25 chapters across the nation.

Within another two years, the party was announcing establishment of an "international section" headquartered in Algeria.

Varying estimates of the party's peak strength refer to the number of members and not the number of chapters.

The peak, it is generally agreed, was reached by the close of 1968.¹ The size of the membership ebbed and flowed thereafter as a result of the disenchantment of members, the party's own purges, and the impact of external events.

Chapters formed, died out, and in some cases re-formed. Most chapters were established after January 1, 1968. HCIS committee investigations revealed that the Black Panther Party at one time or another, from its founding in October 1966 to early 1971, had official chapters with the same name or affiliated organizations under other titles in at least 61 cities in 26 States and in the District of Columbia. Most of the chapters functioned in large urban centers outside the South.

The list of known affiliates indicates, as of the fall or winter of 1970, that there was apparently local Panther activity in at least 35 different cities in 19 States and the District of Columbia. This activity was conducted under the supervision of 13 Black Panther Party chapters and five "branches," 20 National Committees to Combat Fascism, and two community information centers.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover advised a House Appropriations Subcommittee on March 17, 1971, that approximately 48 affiliated organizations were operational. He observed that they were usually known as NCCFs or information centers and that they had appeared in the South for the first time in 1970.

The state of flux, characteristic of Panther affiliates, is demonstrated by information showing that in some areas Panther chapters or NCCFs had become inactive by late 1970, while affiliates were still emerging early in 1971 in cities without previous Panther activity.²

HCIS committee investigators testified they were unable to determine the exact membership of the Panther Party nationally. It appeared possible that even the Panthers could not be certain of the number of members in the United States at any given moment. Chapters sometimes began operating before obtaining permission from national headquarters, and sometimes functioned in spite of headquarters' refusal to recognize them.

FBI Director Hoover informed a House Subcommittee on Appropriations on March 5, 1970, that his sources

indicated a hard-core membership of 800 or 900 members, with many additional thousands of "supporters" in major urban areas. In his appearance before the subcommittee on March 17, 1971, he estimated the active membership to be 1,000.

Most of the seven chapters which were the subject of extensive testimony at HCIS hearings were in operation in 1968 and appeared to have reached peak membership the same year. Although the Philadelphia Panther organization was reported to be growing early in 1970, most of the other chapters investigated were defunct, had lost their national recognition or had declined to a handful of hard-core members by late 1970.

The reasons for the rise and decline of local organizations varied from city to city and the success of a chapter often depended, to some extent, upon the availability of qualified leadership. After the winter of 1968-69 the trend appeared to be away from "mass" membership and toward small hard-core Panther chapters with "mass" support relegated to National Committees to Combat Fascism created under party control beginning in July 1969.³

The first official national Panther headquarters, as indicated previously, was opened on January 1, 1967, at 56th and Grove in Oakland. The headquarters in 1968 was located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, where it remained until April 1970. The operation was then moved to 1046-48 Peralta Street, Oakland.

At the various Panther headquarters, top-level policy meetings mapped party programs. Prior to April 1968, all policy matters were democratically decided upon by a vote of the Panther membership (which did not exceed 50 in the headquarters area and involved even fewer hard-core dependables, it should be noted).⁴

About April 1968, a central committee was formed to make policy decisions for a rapidly growing organization. Members of the central committee⁵ were identified as:

Minister of defense: Huey P. Newton
Chairman: Bobby G. Seale
Minister of information: (Leroy) Eldridge Cleaver
National headquarters captain (and later chief of staff):
David Hilliard

Minister of education: Richard Aoka, succeeded in 1968 by George Mason Murray and in 1969 by Raymond "Masai" Hewitt

Prime minister: Stokely Carmichael

Minister of justice: H. Rap Brown

Minister of foreign affairs: James Forman

Minister of culture: Emory Douglas

Minister of finance: Bobby Hutton, succeeded in April, 1968 by Melvin Newton

Communications secretary: Kathleen Cleaver

The following were added later to the central committee:

Assistant chief of staff: Roosevelt Hilliard

Minister of religion: The Reverend Earl Neil

Deputy minister of information and managing editor of

The Black Panther: Raymond Lewis, succeeded by Frank B. Jones in January 1969 and by Elbert "Big Man" Howard in March 1969.

As new party programs were developed, such as breakfasts for schoolchildren and liberation schools, they were directed from national headquarters, as the seat of the various Panther ministries. Headquarters not only exercised control over administrative and financial matters, but it was also the editorial office for production of the Panther newspaper. The Panthers described their paper as the official organ of the party and also as a "black community news service."

The national headquarters building (as was the case with many local chapter offices) often served as living quarters for some of the officers and their trusted "inner circle." Rank-and-file members and out-of-towners also could usually count on temporary housing at various Panther headquarters, national and local. The arrangement also allayed Panther concern for "security" of their operations from interference by the police.

(A kind of communal work and living arrangement was not unusual. Working Panthers and others who made an easy dollar hustling on the streets would sometimes pool resources to help support nonworking, full-time Panther activists. Seale also claimed that the party was willing to help sustain any full-time worker for the revolution. A prominent example of the latter had been Newton himself.)⁶

When the central committee was formed, a central

staff was also created to implement the decisions of the committee. Central committee meetings were chaired by Seale and dealt with long-range and day-to-day problems. These sessions were strongly influenced, however, by Chief of Staff Hilliard, a friend whom Newton brought directly into the party as a captain around April 1967.

With both Newton and Cleaver jailed after April 1968 and Seale engaged in national lecture tours, David Hilliard began to assume more and more responsibility in organizational matters. Sources close to the national operation described the central committee as having pretty much of a rubber-stamp function in this respect.⁷

CHARTERING LOCALS

During the spring of 1968 Seale and David Hilliard began "chartering" groups in various cities of the United States that were in growing numbers calling themselves Black Panthers.

Charters (meaning a statement that national headquarters recognized a group as one of its official chapters) were granted only to groups which agreed to meet qualifications established by the national office. This decision was dictated by the Panther leadership's desire to exert more control over the mushrooming Panther movement throughout the country.

Persons who aspired to lead new chapters were eventually required to appear at the Panther national headquarters in Oakland for six weeks of training and indoctrination. Trainees attended political education classes and learned administrative and reporting procedures to keep the national office informed about chapter activity and local black community news relevant to the Panther program. This cross-section of information was intended to assist the national office in assuming proper stances on national issues while, at the same time, providing administrative inspection and control of local chapter activities.

Individuals approved by top Panther leaders were permitted to form a BPP chapter. The chapter heads assumed one or another of the following ranks: deputy chairman, defense captain, or deputy defense minister. Chapter leaders, directly responsible to the national headquarters, were

required to submit periodic reports of their activities and financial status.

Individual large or well-run chapters such as the Kansas City, Chicago, and New York organizations were given "regional" authority to help headquarters supervise chapters separated by thousands of miles. Weekly reports were to cover significant political or organizing activities of members; successes or failures in implementing established Panther programs; proposals for new programs; content of discussions in political education classes; and liaison with other groups. Monthly financial reports were to reflect amounts collected at rallies, contributions and names of significant contributors, legal expenses, operational expenses, and the like.

In a variety of ways the national office attempted to compel local chapters to submit these weekly and monthly reports, to remit a percentage of proceeds from the sale of the Panther paper, and to carry out community programs devised at the Oakland headquarters beginning in 1969.

At times a chapter leader was summoned to Oakland; at others, a national officer or a leader from some chapter serving as a "regional" supervisor made on-the-spot investigations of errant chapters. Penalties ranged from admonitions to suspension or expulsion of various chapter officers and members.⁸

In situations in which the entire membership was not inclined to follow policies of the national office, the chapter charter was revoked. Hearings showed such was the fate of Black Panther Party chapters in Detroit and Omaha in the summer of 1969 and in Des Moines and Kansas City early in 1970.

The Chicago Panther organization exercised "regional" supervisory authority over Michigan and Indiana chapters when called upon to do so by the national headquarters. The New York Panthers supervised the Philadelphia branch of the brotherhood, while officials of the Kansas City Panther Party occasionally "straightened out" Panther affairs in Des Moines and Omaha.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE PARTY

During a purge and reorganization of the Panther Party conducted by the national leadership in late 1968 and early 1969, The Black Panther announced that members who did not obey the party's rules were "counter-revolutionaries." The rules, the party's official newspaper declared, "have been in existence since Huey P. Newton organized the Black Panther Party (including the three main rules of discipline and the eight points of attention)."⁹

Actually, Chairman Seale acknowledged that the leadership did not draw up its first ten-point "rules" until sometime after February 1968 when Seale was jailed on a weapons charge and some of his fellow Panthers proved to be too indolent or unconcerned to help raise bail money for his release.¹⁰

These rules appeared in The Black Panther of October 26, 1968. The ten instructions aimed principally at abuses in the area of narcotics, alcohol, gun handling, and petty crime. Expulsion was promised to party members on hard drugs. Possession of marijuana and other soft drugs was forbidden "while doing party work," as was intoxication from drugs or alcohol, especially when carrying weapons. "Unnecessary" use of a weapon was forbidden without further specifics. Also officially banned were crimes against "black people," and one of Mao's injunctions was used as an illustration: a party member "cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread."

Orders to members to attend party meetings and learn the party's ten-point platform and program rounded out the Panthers' first published effort to exert control over a membership that was loosely administered and undisciplined while the party concentrated on the Newton murder trial in 1968.¹¹

In the January 4, 1969 edition of The Black Panther, a list of 26 rules appeared with the notice that violations would lead to suspensions or other disciplinary action.¹² Most of the 16 new rules added to the original ten dealt with administrative measures to insure activity of chapter members on paper sales and Panther community projects. Procedures for accounting to the national office on chapter activity, finances, and news for the party publication were outlined in these new rules.

Other significant additions were instructions to all Panthers to "learn to operate and service weapons correctly," and to have "first aid" or "medical cadres." Branches were also warned against accepting poverty funds or other Government money without contacting national headquarters on the subject.

The new rules put a new party stress on "political education" which had begun in 1968. For example, the new rules required Panthers in leadership positions to "read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation"; called for "political education classes" for the general membership; and insisted that every chapter adhere to "the policy and the ideology laid down by the Central Committee" of the party.¹³

(The Black Panther, Jan. 4, 1969, p. 20)
RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics

will be expelled from this party.

3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.

4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.

5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.

6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.

7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.

8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.

9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.

10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.

11. Party Communications must be National and Local.

12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.

13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.

14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.

15. Each Sub-Section Leader, Section Leader, and Lieutenant and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.

16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.

17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.

18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.

19. Only office personnel assigned to respective

offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.

20. COMMUNICATIONS--all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.

21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.

22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.

23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.

24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.

25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

The writing of rules was only part of a general reorganization of the Panther Party, nationally and locally, in 1968 and 1969. The same January 4, 1969 issue of The Black Panther contained the first announcement that a purge of Panther membership was underway.

A "press conference" statement by the central committee of the party, appearing in the first Panther paper of the new year, denounced acts by "provocateur agents, kooks, and avaricious fools" who had found their way into the party.

The immediate object of the purge were members who had been apprehended in the course of criminal activity in the Oakland area in recent months and who brought considerable adverse publicity to the party.

The purge officially began in January 1969 under the direction of Seale and David Hilliard. They halted the admission of new members into the party for three months to facilitate the weeding out of members considered liabilities by the national leadership for one reason or another.¹⁴

Some preliminary purging was undertaken as early as September 1968, it appeared. Serving as a stimulus were such incidents as:

- 1) a \$34 gas station holdup in Oakland on July 25, 1968, for which a Panther deputy minister of defense was caught;
- 2) an attempt by six armed Panthers to rob a grocer of \$200 in broad daylight on a main street in an unspecified location in 1968;
- 3) the arrest of Willie Lee Brent and seven other Panthers who allegedly used a Panther Party paper delivery truck emblazoned with party emblems in an \$80 gas station robbery in San Francisco on November 19, 1968. Three police officers were wounded in a shoot-out which resulted when they approached the Panther truck.¹⁵
- 4) a nightclub holdup in Oakland on December 16, 1968, by Larry Powell, member of the central staff at Panther national headquarters, which led to Powell's arrest.¹⁶

Seale admitted that it had been party policy to bail out Panthers arrested for criminal activity but that by late 1968, the recklessness of some of the Panthers was bringing unfavorable publicity to the party and it was also draining finances at a time when the party was soliciting in black and white communities for legal defense of the top leadership. An acknowledged headquarters policy of refusing to pay some of the bonds and legal fees late in 1968 fed a growing disaffection in the party's ranks. A former Oakland Panther interviewed by HCIS supported ex-Panther Powell's contention before a Senate subcommittee that Chief of Staff Hilliard used his growing authority over the organizational and financial affairs of the party to "play favorites" in dispensing bail funds and other expenses. Both complained that Hilliard's stand was indefensible because he had personally authorized "rip offs" with a percentage of the proceeds going to the national office.

Statements of former Panthers before HCIS made it clear that theft per se was not rejected by many Panther officials and members, but the discovery of such activity--leading to unfavorable publicity for the party and a drain on its legal defense funds--was a prime concern.

In a double-barreled effort to strengthen the party

organizationally as well as to improve its image, the leadership sought to rid itself of four types of members, according to Seale: the foolish and selfish "jackanapes" who were more interested in marijuana and wine than the party and used their guns to "rip off" what they needed; the Panther who was nonfunctional because of intoxication on drugs or alcohol; the "status seekers" who were attracted to a uniform but not to work on party projects; and Panthers so extremely nationalistic that they could not work with the party's white allies.¹⁷

The party sought to rid itself of responsibility for the actions of every black American wearing a leather jacket and black beret by banning the wearing of the beret except at ceremonial occasions in this period. This had the effect of playing down the paramilitary aspect of the party--which was also the intended result of a party decision to stop classifying leadership according to military rankings such as captain, lieutenant, sergeant, and corporal.¹⁸

Between March and August 1969, the Panther paper published lists of expelled members which altogether totaled about 250 Panthers. Reasons were not cited in every case, but the lists revealed that 62 were banished for being "renegades," 24 for being "counter-revolutionary," and eight for informing for law enforcement agencies. A simple "desire to leave the party" was among the reasons given for some "purges."¹⁹

When those forced out were combined with Panthers who were disenchanted and voluntarily quitting the party, Seale's figure of more than 1,000 "purged" Panthers does not seem unreasonable.

ENFORCING THE PANTHER REORGANIZATION

As previously noted, the national Panther organization summoned chapter representatives from around the nation to a "national retreat" at the Berkeley headquarters in mid-November 1968. The Panther paper throughout the early months of 1969 made the locals aware of purges of members and entire chapters as they occurred in various parts of the country.

The party lacked sufficient national staff, however, to send representatives on chapter inspection trips which

would help to ensure local implementation of national programs and policy, according to a former national officer. 20 Ray "Masai" Hewitt, the new national minister of education, made a trip to the Detroit Black Panther chapter in this period and checked on the record-keeping procedures of local officials. "Field Marshal" Donald Cox also played inspector to some extent.

For the most part, chapters subject to HCIS committee investigation were inspected by officials from nearby chapters designated by the national office. Under the instructions of such "regional" inspectors, they were persuaded to start "political education classes" for members (as in Philadelphia), to increase local sales of the Black Panther newspaper (an order to the Kansas City chapter), or to send to the national office monies owed on paper sales (as in the cases of the Kansas City, Indianapolis, and Detroit chapters).

Representatives from California appeared in Detroit in the spring of 1969 to expel some of the chapter members and to install an almost entirely new slate of chapter officers (because of inactivity and money shortages).

HCIS testimony of former Panthers indicated that local officers resented and sometimes resisted efforts of other chapters as well as national headquarters to tell them what to do. 21

National headquarters ordered the closing of its Detroit chapter in the summer of 1969 when a local deputy minister of defense was fatally shot in the chapter office and Detroit Panther officers refused to explain the incident to the Berkeley office. A National Committee to Combat Fascism was later formed to carry out the Panther "community service" programs in Detroit. 22

Failure to follow policies set by the national headquarters also resulted in the expulsion of the founder and head of the Omaha Black Panther chapter in March 1969 and the entire chapter by August of 1969. An NCCF subsequently authorized to operate in Omaha was disowned without explanation in The Black Panther of July 25, 1970. A published statement by Assistant National Chief of Staff Roosevelt Hilliard stated that the Omaha chapter's chieftain was ousted in 1969 for "reluctance to follow the party line" and for working and assisting in Government-sponsored programs which "lead" black people and, in the Panther view, assure

their continued "oppression" by the existing power structure.

The Des Moines chapter of the Black Panther Party was read out of the national organization in February or March 1970, and the Kansas City chapter suffered the same fate by May 1970. The Missouri group was shut down after the completion of HCIS public hearings on the organization, which had revealed that the chapter, under lackadaisical leadership, had dwindled to about six to eight members by early 1970. An ex-Panther from Des Moines testified before HCIS that some chapter members displeased the national office by their failure to work and by seeking, under the influence of white radicals, to parade as Maoist communists. Des Moines membership was also steadily declining after the April 1969 bombing destroyed chapter headquarters.²³

Actions taken in the case of chapters giving testimony before the HCIS offered evidence that the national Panther leadership made a serious attempt to compel obedience to the headquarters in Berkeley.

However, testimony also supported Cleaver's comment in the summer of 1969 that the party had "great difficulty in maintaining party discipline" because of the type of "cats we had to deal with."²⁴

Instances were discovered in which would-be Panthers followed the example of the Omaha National Committee to Combat Fascism and continued to operate in spite of withdrawal of recognition by the national organization, or did not even seek national recognition in the first place.

Investigation revealed that NCCFs were expected to account regularly to the national office on implementing Panther projects and fund-raising and apparently were equally subject to discipline for failure to remit funds, or to adhere to the national "political" line and other party rules.

The admission of whites to membership gave an NCCF chapter a broader base of operations for fund-raising and propaganda purposes. To black members, however, it represented less than full Panther status, particularly since an NCCF unit was sometimes built from the remnants of a Panther chapter which was closed after having been found wanting by the national officers on the score of accomplishments, number of dedicated members, or compliance with national dictates. Investigation showed that black members

thought of an NCCF chapter as a kind of "proving ground" in which they were being given an opportunity to prove they merited the designation Black Panthers. Reports from local NCCFs in the Panther paper often referred to the committees as "organizing bureaus" for the party.

The purge of the Panther Party, followed by creation of affiliates known as National Committees to Combat Fascism, served a party desire to have a smaller membership of dedicated revolutionaries who could be trusted, according to a member of the Detroit party in this period.

The party was concerned about police informers in the membership and also had no use for "paper Panthers" who only showed up at rallies and other special events where they could pose in black leather jackets and berets.

As an "organizing" agent for the party, NCCFs recruited, taught, and imposed party tasks such as paper sales. Black members considered it a test period to show headquarters that a core of dedicated workers existed on which to found a regular party chapter, the Detroit Panther said.²⁵

COMMUNITY CENTERS ADDED TO ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

In 1970, community centers or community information centers were added to the organizational structure of the Panther Party on local levels.

They were set up in some cities where a Panther chapter also operated. In at least one case its address was the same as Panther headquarters (as in Seattle); but more often they were at completely different locations (as in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver, and Indianapolis). In such cities as Atlantic City, N.J., Hartford and Bridgeport, Conn., and Riverside and Compton, Calif., the party was represented solely by a community information center, according to the Panther paper.

It appeared that the centers were a new and less formal "organizing bureau" for the party than the National Committees to Combat Fascism (which still continued to operate in numerous cities where no chapter or community center was to be found).

Community information centers in the Panthers' home territory of Oakland, HCIS committee investigation disclosed, sometimes doubled as living quarters for Panthers.²⁶ The Panther paper indicated that a center's function was the supervision of "community service" aspects of the Panther programs otherwise handled in a city by an official Panther chapter or NCCF. Oakland and Atlantic City community information centers, for example, were responsible for stimulating members of the black community to work with breakfasts for schoolchildren, liberation schools, petitions to decentralize police, health clinics, and political education classes for adults in the community. An Oakland center also advertised legal aid and voter registration assistance. A statement from an Oakland center in The Black Panther of May 31, 1970, explained:

The purpose of opening the community information centers is that we realize that in order to be close to the people in the community it is necessary that we locate ourselves among the masses. The centers will be able to reach more people and bring the Black Panther Party closer to the people.

The community centers are set up primarily as a base in the community for the people to identify with, work, and claim as their own.

.

Anyone can work in the Community Info. Centers....

The purpose of a community worker is to arm themselves with the ideology of the Black Panther Party and to arm themselves politically and militarily.

By the fall of 1970, the facilities of the party in the Oakland area were physically located as follows: a national Black Panther Party headquarters at 1046-48 Peralta Street, Oakland; an office of the National Committee to Combat Fascism, located in former party offices at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, with a white married couple, Cecilia and Sol Levinson, serving as supervisors; and a "National Distribution" office for packaging and otherwise preparing the Panther paper for distribution, at 1336 Fillmore Street, in San Francisco.²⁷

The organizational picture on a local level also changed considerably between early 1969 and mid-1970.

As previously noted, in March 1969--before the creation of NCCFs and community information centers--the Panther Party claimed to have 25 "offices" located in 24 cities in 15 States.²⁸

In June 1970, the Panther paper reported 38 affiliates were functioning in 27 cities in 17 States and the District of Columbia. These affiliates were broken down into 14 chapters or branches²⁹ of the party, ten National Committees to Combat Fascism, and 14 community information centers.

A comparison between the 1969 and 1970 lists showed that chapters or branches continued functioning in only 12 of the 24 cities originally listed. Ten chapters were dropped and in only two cases were they replaced by NCCFs. NCCFs appeared in six cities and the District of Columbia, where no affiliates previously existed, while community information centers were listed in two Connecticut cities and three neighborhoods in the New York City area not previously the scene of organized Panther activity.³⁰

MEMBERSHIP IN A LOCAL PANTHER CHAPTER

There was little consistency, among chapters examined by HCIS, in requirements for membership. Some chapters "investigated" would-be members and required attendance at "political education" classes. Others made no effort beyond the common requirement that a Panther applicant memorize the party's ten-point platform and program.

In some chapters, membership applications were required and applicants were asked to indicate if they belonged to any of the following categories: student, dropout, laborer, housewife, unemployed, or "hustler."

One chapter investigated imposed a one-dollar initiation fee, and another chapter tried to collect three-dollar monthly dues, but others imposed no financial obligation on their members. All members were under obligation--by national edict--to contribute man-hours of labor to the party cause, which in 1969 and 1970 involved street sales of the party's weekly national paper (apparently a principal source of income for some chapters as well as for the national organization). Work on breakfasts for schoolchildren, health clinics, liberation schools, and petitions for community control of police was expected by national headquarters but not

always forthcoming on the local level, HCIS hearings disclosed.³¹

Inquiries by the committee³² into the types of persons who joined the Black Panther Party revealed that Panthers were usually between the ages of 18 and 23, with some chapters reaching down as low as 14-year-olds. Leaders were usually in their early twenties and often had some college education, whereas the membership might involve college students but had a greater proportion of high school dropouts. There was rapid turnover among Panthers with college backgrounds. Most of the members were unemployed or sporadically employed.

The Panther Party provided bed and board for many of its hard-core members, who often bunked at the same building which was designated as chapter headquarters. An average hard-core membership of 21 was recorded for Panther chapters on which HCIS was able to obtain information.

In at least 16 instances, a Black Panther chapter was organized by individuals who had been active in some other nationalist-oriented group, some of which used such titles as Black Vigilantes, Black Society, and Afro-American Unity Movement.

The members of most of the Panther chapters on which information was available acquired firearms and also, in some instances, explosive materials. Eleven chapters acquired and stored firearms in such extensive quantities that police departments felt they constituted "stock piles" of weapons.

A majority of the leaders of party chapters surveyed had criminal records, which corresponded with the backgrounds of the national leadership. In the year 1969 alone, 348 Black Panther Party members across the country were arrested for serious crimes, including murder, armed robbery, rape, bank robbery, and burglary, the FBI Director informed Congress.³³

Some Panthers condoned thievery, it has been noted, and one current Panther chapter leader declared he did not consider an arrest or even conviction to be a sufficient criterion for expulsion. Newton did not believe that stealing was a justifiable way to advance the party's revolutionary cause, according to a former national Panther officer, and

Panthers who "liberated" (stole) goods were regarded as acting on their own. The practice was blamed on lack of discipline at all levels of the organization. There were observable changes in some areas which may have resulted from the party's reorganization and purge of late 1968 and early 1969. Larceny by Panthers in the Oakland area--which in 1968 had been encouraged by Hilliard himself, according to previously noted testimony--disappeared from the headlines. Quite a striking change of image was effected by the Panther Party chapter in Seattle.

Extensive HCIS investigations in Seattle disclosed that half of the 81 persons who were associated with the chapter at some time after its formation in April 1968 had arrest records, most of them for various forms of larceny. Their records were compiled after they joined the party as well as in previous years.

The Seattle chapter has been previously described as one of the more militant locals whose paramilitary activity in 1968 included close order drills, target practice and guerrilla warfare instruction. Leaders also collected dynamite and hand grenades in addition to the usual supply of guns. Even women Panthers--who usually made up about one-fourth of a chapter's membership--were instructed to learn how to use guns and administer first aid.

A witness who appeared before HCIS in executive session swore to having heard a dozen members of the chapter plan to commit various criminal acts, or discuss them after the fact, in the period from September 1968 through March 1969. The acts included five major robberies, five burglaries, and two attempted extortions of merchants followed by arson. One Panther, Welton Armstead, died from police bullets during a search for a suspect in a stolen auto case, previously described, and a second Panther was killed by a grocer during an attempted holdup in December 1968. According to the witness, one of the top chapter officers knew about every robbery that was committed and expected the perpetrators to split the proceeds with him. One chapter member was expelled when he refused to turn over one-fifth of the proceeds of certain robberies to this officer.³⁴

When the community service image was inaugurated at the direction of the national office in 1969, Seattle chapter members dispensed with open display of weapons, paramilitary drilling, and eventually their uniforms. Three

breakfast programs were put into operation in Seattle, along with a medical clinic. Interestingly, the chapter achieved its peak membership in the summer of 1968 during its paramilitary phase. Some 25 to 30 hard-core Panthers who could then count on about 200 supporters dwindled by the spring of 1970 to eight to 15 members with vastly diminished influence.

The Kansas City chapter of the Panther Party, also subject to thoroughgoing investigation by HCIS, was formed almost a year later than the Seattle chapter--on the last day of January 1969. After only a few weeks of armed "patrols" of police cars in imitation of the Oakland Panthers of an earlier period, difficulties with the law forced them into other projects including community services such as breakfast programs. Of the approximately 50 individuals who passed through the party in the 15 months it operated, 40 of them had arrest records--again principally for some type of larceny. Investigation showed, however, that most of the criminal activity--in contrast to the situation in Seattle--occurred prior to their Panther careers.

The Indianapolis Black Panther chapter, organized in September 1968 and still functioning at the time of committee hearings on the group in July 1970, did not follow the pattern of either the Seattle or Kansas City Panthers. Investigation revealed no arrests of a chapter member for criminal activity.³⁵

WHY PANTHERS JOIN AND LEAVE THE PARTY

Former Panthers from the Oakland headquarters and chapters in Detroit, Kansas City, and Philadelphia--though separated by great distances--voiced to HCIS the same belief that, in joining the Black Panther Party, they expected better conditions for residents of black communities.

An ex-national officer explained that he hoped the new armed "self-defense" line introduced by the Panther Party might combat racism and other problems of blacks which other organizations had failed to solve. The introduction of "community service" programs strengthened such expectations among the membership.

Other motives, admittedly held even by some of those

who felt the party had a positive role to play in the black community, included resentment of police officers as a real or symbolic "oppressive" force in their lives. Many members were attracted, however, by the novelty of the organization and merely sought to satisfy their curiosity. Others were characterized as publicity seekers, drawn by the attention accorded to assemblages of Panthers equipped with black jackets and rifles. A great many members, particularly in the youngest age bracket, were lured by tough Panther talk about the violent fate they wished upon law enforcement authorities and the whole American "system." To the impatience, the Panthers were a new and exciting gang to "run with."

Parents and the law helped to cut away many of the younger members. Prosecutions on weapons and other charges were also, in fact, responsible for the eventual disaffection of many Panthers of all ages, particularly when they discovered that bail funds were not forthcoming from the organization which had put them in jeopardy in the first place.

Dictatorial attitudes by chapter leaders or regional and national representatives of the party turned away some members. The forced "political education" imposed on members in 1969, with lectures on Mao Tse-tung's advice for revolutionaries and on the advantages of socialism over capitalism, also repelled black activists.

The leadership's overzealousness in seeking publicity and the derogatory approach to other black organizations and leaders led some idealistic members to question the sincerity of the party's proclaimed interest in "serving the people." Where benefits were negligible, disillusionment was hastened, and it was reflected in declining chapter memberships. 5

PANTHER PARTY FINANCES

Information has been obtained from HCIS and other investigations on the various sources of Panther income as well as the expenses entailed by the Panthers. No hard and fast figures are available, however, which offer a complete picture of the flow of funds into and out of the party organization on either national or local levels. Bank records examined with care by HCIS committee investigators revealed only a part of the story of Panther finances.

At no time did the party file any type of income tax return with the U.S. Internal Revenue Service. It claimed exemption from taxation on the basis of its "political" nature.³⁶

From the fragmentary financial information on the public record, it cannot be said with certainty that the Black Panther Party is a "profitable" enterprise. From its earliest days, the party avowed the intention of providing only subsistence (not salaries) to Panthers willing to become "full-time revolutionaries."³⁷

However, the paramilitary nature of the organization resulted in an ever-mounting financial burden in the way of lawyers' fees, bail bonds, and court costs. The Black Panther paper on February 21, 1970, listing some of the arrests of Panthers on charges ranging from petty theft to criminal conspiracy to commit murder, insisted: "The total amount of money we have paid on bails and fines since the beginning of the Black Panther Party until 1969 is approximately: \$5,240,568.00!" No corroboration is available for this figure.

In its early years as an operation limited to the Oakland-San Francisco area, the party obtained money from donations received for speeches at private homes and campuses, before church groups and other community organizations. Sums were also received from individual donors. Until the spring of 1967, Seale reported, a sizable profit was realized from Panther sales of "red books" (Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung) to white "radicals and liberals." The party realized 70 cents for every dollar copy sold.

Almost from its inception, the party recognized and took advantage of the superior financial benefits that could be realized in the white community as compared with the black community. Major expenses of the party in 1966-67 included the purchase of weapons to implement a program of "armed self-defense"; subsistence for first time Panthers; and, particularly after the May 2, 1967 invasion of the California State Legislature, bail premiums and court costs.

Former Panthers informed the committee that thefts and robberies by Panthers were the answer of some members to the eventual failure of the party to provide subsistence or court costs to all but the top officers and favored friends.³⁸

The financial assets of the white community were heavily exploited in 1968 when the primary party expense was the cost of legal defense and a worldwide publicity campaign around the Newton murder trial.³⁹ Panther Captain Anthony described a speaking engagement in an actress' home in Los Angeles, one of many similar affairs arranged by the Peace and Freedom Party to aid the Newton defense fund--

... many of them were really caught up in what I was saying, not how I said it, or because any Panther spending an hour or so to talk to them provided an emotional and intellectual catharsis. They had done their part in the revolution by coming to listen to a revolutionary.

After the presentation, I would make a fund-raising pitch, and we would pass around a collection plate.⁴⁰

For the Newton defense fund campaign, Panthers also sponsored rallies and sold buttons, badges, and posters.

Soon after April 1968, when the national Panther hierarchy began granting official recognition to local Panther chapters around the country, local chapters were expected to conduct fund-raising rallies, solicit contributions, and sell "Free Huey" buttons and posters to build up the national Panther bail fund.

On April 29, 1968, a bank account of the Black Panther Party national headquarters was opened in Emeryville, California, with an initial deposit of \$710.50. The activity of this account progressively increased and total deposits amounted to \$171,943.24 by October 1970. However, an examination of the account year by year revealed that average monthly deposits in 1968 were \$4,018; in 1969 they dropped to \$2,465 per month, but in 1970 they rose (due to several extremely large deposits) to \$11,798 per month. In 1970 some of the large deposits reflected donations toward the \$50,000 bail on which Newton was released from jail in August of that year. The account was overdrawn by almost \$400 when it was last examined by the HCIS staff in October 1970.

The only individuals authorized to draw funds from this headquarters account as of June 4, 1970, according to bank records, were Chief of Staff David Hilliard; Patricia Hilliard, David's wife and national "finance secretary"; and

Roosevelt Hilliard, David's brother and national assistant chief of staff.⁴¹

As legal difficulties of national and chapter leaders increased in late 1968 and 1969, supporters staffed fund-raising committees with such names as the Los Angeles Friends of the Panthers, Legal Defense Committee of the New York Panther Party, and later the New York Committee to Defend the Panthers. An appeal for legal defense and local funds was also the purpose of an Emergency Conference to Defend the Right of the Black Panther Party to Exist, held March 7 and 8, 1970, in Chicago. Officials of the CPUSA, despite their theoretical differences with the Panthers, were among the participants in the affair which led to the creation of a continuations committee to carry on the cause.⁴²

Individual donors were shown to be an important source of funds and though many contributions were small, some were fairly substantial gifts. For example, deposits in a national headquarters' bank account included a \$20,000 cashier's check purchased from a New York bank on July 23, 1970. Notations on the check indicated it was a gift from an anonymous donor to the Panthers' breakfasts for schoolchildren program. HCIS committee investigation disclosed the donor was Paul Moore III, a New York City resident who later moved to Berkeley, and that the \$20,000 was withdrawn from the account on August 5, 1970, and applied toward the \$50,000 bail required for the release from prison of Minister of Defense Newton.⁴³

The party was the recipient of a \$17,000 gift in 1970 from the estate of the late Anna Louise Strong, American Communist expatriate who died in Red China. Legal defense funds amounting to \$10,000 were assured from movie executives and other prominent New Yorkers attending a cocktail party given by orchestra conductor Leonard Bernstein in January 1970. FBI Director Hoover informed a House Appropriations Subcommittee on March 17, 1971, that "The chief form of financial support for the Black Panther Party has been contributions from sympathetic donors."

The campus speakers' circuit eventually offered another lucrative source of funds for both national and chapter leaders. Statistics compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation revealed that Panther leaders made 189 appearances on high school and college campuses during 1969, in contrast to eleven such appearances in 1967. Speaking fees

went as high as \$1,900 plus transportation costs in some instances.⁴⁴

The FBI Director disclosed on November 19, 1970, that Newton was asking a fee of \$2,500 plus travel expenses for a speaking appearance on a college campus.⁴⁵ Chairman Seale and other Panther leaders claimed to have received speaking fees ranging from \$500 to \$1,000 before unidentified groups in 1968.⁴⁶

During the testimony of Richard Shaw, committee investigator, he was asked by counsel:

How do many of the Panthers regard the white element who significantly contribute money?

Mr. SHAW. Stupid, patsies, more money than sense. There is no regard or respect for these individuals who contribute money on behalf of the Black Panther Party from this element.

Mr. ROMINES. What is the Black Panther Party's policy concerning members having jobs?

Mr. SHAW. They are discouraged from having jobs.

Mr. ROMINES. Were you informed as to why?

Mr. SHAW. Yes; it is felt that party business is too time-consuming and to be gainfully employed would interfere with the amount of time you could have available to the party.

Mr. ROMINES. Are active members, who are not gainfully employed, given any subsistence money by the party?

Mr. SHAW. No, they are not.

Mr. ROMINES. Did your source of information indicate to you how some of the rank-and-file members decided to obtain subsistence money?

Mr. SHAW. Yes; they committed acts of larceny, burglary, robberies.⁴⁷

THE PARTY PAPER

On November 25, 1969, a San Francisco bank account in the name of the Black Panther Party "National Distribution" was opened with a \$1,000 deposit. The account recorded financial transactions relating to the party's paper.

Although the paper was introduced on April 1967, it

was published sporadically until early 1969 when it became a regular weekly chronicler of nationwide Panther activity and other developments of interest to the party, national and international. The yearly subscription rate was \$7.50, but most sales were by members of chapters hawking them at 25 cents a copy.

In 1969 the national office usually received 12.5 cents per copy sold. The local chapter, which retained the remainder, sometimes gave five of its 12.5 cents to an individual salesman as incentive to meet quotas set for the chapter by national headquarters.⁴⁸ Of the national office's share, about five cents profit was realized after production and shipping costs were subtracted, according to Chairman Seale.⁴⁹ The paper, therefore, became an important, relatively predictable source of income for the national organization. Calculations on the basis of HCIS investigations led to the estimate that 140,000 copies of the paper were circulated in the United States weekly in 1970. In a statement to a House Appropriations Subcommittee on March 17, 1971, FBI Director Hoover put the weekly circulation at "nearly 100,000 copies."

Deposits in the National Distribution bank account for the eleven months preceding October 1970 totaled \$447,817, or an average of \$40,000 per month. In a sample one-month period, telegraphic money orders, apparently reflecting payments for newspapers from local affiliates, were received from 30 cities in a total amount of \$38,758.88. Signatures to the party's National Distribution bank account included Sam Napier, head of the paper's circulation department; Patricia Hilliard as finance secretary, and three other women designated as "secretaries."⁵⁰

LOCAL CHAPTER FINANCES

As previously noted, Panther leaders and some of the hard-core members, often unemployed, depended for subsistence on the Panther Party among other sources of income. Chapter headquarters, as in Kansas City and Seattle, provided lodging and sometimes a place for communal meals for a group of Panthers.

A chapter's "expenses," therefore, would involve subsistence for certain members as well as headquarters rent, utilities, cost of vehicles and travel, printing, and bail money.

Chapters relied for their income--to varying degrees--on sales of the Panther paper, fund-raising rallies, speakers' fees or "passing the plate" after a speaking engagement, and donations from organizations and individuals. Evidence that robberies and burglaries supplemented the income of members and officers in some chapters has already been discussed.

Chapter members pressured merchants in black communities for food and funds for the free breakfasts for school-children and other community "service" programs on the Panther agenda. Use of a portion of such food and/or funds for personal subsistence of members was reported in Seattle, Kansas City, Indianapolis, and Philadelphia. In Seattle a group of Panthers was maintained for two months with the help of Government food stamps.

Variations in the financial situation of Panther chapters are illustrated by those investigated by HCIS. The national office imposed quotas of newspapers to be sold by chapters and sought to insure remittances by requiring payment for a previous week's papers before new deliveries were made. The Detroit and Indianapolis chapters, however, were at times unable to make the sales effort expected of them and were in arrears or losing money in an effort to make up the deficit. The paper was a source of income, however, in Des Moines, Philadelphia, Omaha, and Kansas City.

Speaking engagements were the main source of funds for the Indianapolis chapter, with up to \$200 netted from some out-of-town appearances. They were also essential to the support of Philadelphia and Des Moines Panthers who spoke before community and college groups. The hat was passed or speaking fees were charged. Kansas City Panthers scheduled their own fund-raising rallies with speakers to build their treasury.

Paper sales and speechmaking were also cited as the principal source of funds for Panther affiliates by police departments responding to HCIS questionnaires regarding Panther activity in their cities.⁵¹

Donations or contributions formed a third important source of a chapter's funds. Church groups and college organizations or individual students were repeatedly identified as contributing to subsistence or legal defense needs. A

church agency furnished rent-free headquarters, utilities, bail funds, and some employment to Panthers in Kansas City. White college students helped out Panthers in Des Moines. In Ann Arbor, a group of white "hippie-type" youths formed the White Panthers to build sympathy for the party in poor white communities and also to provide financial support for a brief period in 1968-69. Some chapters such as that in Indianapolis enjoyed the largess of an "angel" who donated \$3,000 over a nine-month period and loaned his credit cards for Panther travels.

Party membership was the sole occupation of many Panthers, but the standard of living afforded was far from luxurious, and the income was unreliable. Police departments reporting to HCIS on active Panther Party affiliates in 25 cities rated 19 of them as barely solvent, five as seriously in debt, and only one in good financial condition.

NOTES

1. The chapter total of 25 was listed in The Black Panther, Sept. 14, 1968, p. 5. Anthony, op. cit., put peak membership at 2,000 and the committee's chief investigator, Robert Horner, estimated a maximum of 1,500 members in testimony, HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4.
2. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, at House Appropriations Subcommittee hearings on Mar. 5, 1970, stated a purge in 1969 dropped the total of chapters from more than 40 to approximately 30.
3. See Chapter 5 for further references to the NCCFs.
4. The structure of the Black Panther Party as a national organization was the subject of testimony by former Panthers and committee investigators in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4.
5. When Carmichael, Brown, and Forman left the Black Panther organization their ministerial posts were abolished. Melvin Newton, Huey's brother, was listed as minister of finance in issues of The Black Panther from Oct. 28, 1968, until May 25, 1969, when his name was dropped without explanation. No successor was named. (HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 4.)

6. The common use of local chapter headquarters as a Panther "pad" was described in HCIS hearings on BPP and a communal arrangement for California Panthers was discussed by Anthony, Picking Up the Gun and Seale, Seize the Time, and by a former Oakland Panther interviewed by the committee.
7. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 8.
8. See, for example, testimony before HCIS regarding BPP operations in Kansas City, Des Moines, Detroit, Indianapolis, and Philadelphia.
9. The Black Panther, Jan. 4, 1969.
10. Seale, Seize the Time.
11. Anthony, op. cit., and Mr. and Mrs. Larry Powell described the disorganized state of the party at this time.
12. See list of 26 Panther Party rules, p. 123.
13. See discussion of the Panther "ideology" at this period in Chapter 5.
14. Seale, Seize the Time; Guardian, Feb. 21, 1970.
15. Brent was the only Panther named in the party's first official announcement of its purge of members who violated rules. Roving acts of banditry were the main concern of this initial Panther statement.

Brent was slated to go on trial in San Francisco on June 23, 1969, for assault with a deadly weapon, as a result of the November 19 incident. On June 17, 1969, he was alleged to have hijacked an airplane to Havana. (See People's World, Dec. 7, 1968, p. 3, and Washington Post, June 21, 1969.)
16. The Black Panther, Jan. 4, 1969, p. 2. Powell was purged from the Panther Party for the holdup.
17. Seale, Seize the Time.
18. Ibid.
19. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 4.

20. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, testimony of Frank B. Jones.
21. HCIS hearings on BPP, pts. 1 and 3, testimony of ex-Panther Donald Berry from Detroit, ex-Panther Don Kearney of Philadelphia, and executive testimony of a former member of Kansas City Panther chapter.
22. HCIS hearings on BPP, pts. 3 and 4.
23. HCIS hearings on BPP, and Omaha Star, Aug. 7, 1969.
24. Eldridge Cleaver, statement to West German journalist, Stefen Aust, op. cit.
25. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 3, testimony of Donald Berry. The Guardian of Aug. 8, 1970, claimed that the Berkeley NCCF was the sole predominantly white NCCF in the nation and that the rest of the committees had become recruiters for local chapters of the party.
26. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4.
27. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4. Early in 1971, the National Distribution⁷ was renamed Central Distribution.
28. Two offices were located in New York City, according to a list in The Black Panther, Mar. 16, 1969.
29. The San Francisco affiliate was called a "branch" and the New York City "chapter" also had two "branches."
30. The Black Panther, June 20, 1970.
31. See Chapter 3 for further discussion of the community programs.
32. In addition to the seven Black Panther Party chapters on which HCIS received testimony, a questionnaire was sent to police departments in cities where chapters were reported to have been active. Police departments in 42 cities responded with information on local Panthers which was summarized as exhibit 1 to pt. 4 of HCIS hearings on BPP.
33. Edgar Hoover, testimony before House Appropriations

Subcommittee, Mar. 5, 1970.

34. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 2.
35. HCIS hearings on BPP, pts. 1, 2, 3.
36. The party's excuse was cited to HCIS Chairman Ichord in an Internal Revenue Service response to his query about the party's tax status. The Commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service also advised the chairman that a full-scale investigation of the party was under way to determine its liability for taxes.
37. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 7.
38. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 8.
39. In addition to soliciting contributions to a Huey P. Newton Legal Defense Fund, the party also had to raise bail and other expenses as a result of numerous weapons charges against the headquarters group in 1968. The party paid bail premiums of \$4,000 as a result of arrests of Seale and others on Feb. 25, 1968, according to The Black Panther, Mar. 3, 1969.
40. Picking Up the Gun, p. 114.
41. Results of HCIS investigations into funds of national headquarters are summarized in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 25.
42. Ibid.
43. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, testimony of Investigator Neil Wettermann and exhibit 27.
44. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, testimony before House Appropriations Subcommittee, Mar. 5, 1970.
45. Testimony before the House Appropriations Subcommittee, Nov. 19, 1970.
46. Seale, Seize the Time.
47. Black Panther Party hearings, pt. 4, p. 4743.

48. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, has testimony specifically related to the preparation, distribution, and sale of the party's paper.
49. Seize the Time.
50. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4.
51. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 25.

Chapter 5

CHANGING REVOLUTIONARY GOALS AND MOUNTING DIFFICULTIES WITH THE LAW

The Black Panther grew out of the Black Power movement, but the Party transformed the ideology of Black Power, into a socialist ideology, a Marxist-Leninist ideology.... We have become not nationalists, like the Black Power movement in the past, but internationalists. (Huey P. Newton, interview in August 1970, in The Black Panther, January 16, 1971, p. 10.)

"Political education" classes for members of the Black Panther Party were held in every local affiliate investigated by HCIS. The classes began in Detroit and Philadelphia late in 1968, although chapters had been functioning there for quite some time.

The timing confirmed statements by former Panthers that "political education" of the membership was part of a sweeping purge and reorganization of the party undertaken late in 1968 and early in 1969.

Then national Minister of Education George Murray worked with some Los Angeles Panthers on a pilot political education program for section leaders in the summer of 1968 and devised mimeographed study kits which were later sent out to chapters. Long-time Panthers, as well as new members taken in after the temporary halt in recruitment in 1969, were to become "students." The party's previous absorption with military preparations, a former Panther explained, was being balanced by an effort to build a "successful political party" as well. A "unified political ideology" was to be transmitted by the national leadership to members throughout the country via "political education" classes.¹

The "unified political ideology" at first meant little more than instructions to members to study "all revolutions" while learning the self-discipline which Mao Tse-tung had preached to Chinese communist revolutionaries.

A letter from party headquarters transmitting a study kit was in great part copied, without attribution, from advice given by Mao to his Chinese Red Army troops in 1929. The national office, substituting the Panther Party where the name of the Red Army had appeared, instructed its chapters almost 40 years later that defeat of an enemy relied not only on military action but also on political work. The latter included propaganda efforts among masses of people to organize them for a future revolutionary bid for political power.

A "mandatory" reading list in a study kit included Newton's essays on America's "black colony"; the Chinese Communist Party chairman's Quotations; Fanon's Wretched of the Earth; three works by Ghana's procommunist Premier, Kwame Nkrumah; two books on Malcolm X; Karl Marx's The Communist Manifesto; three works of Lenin; and Ché Guevara's Guerrilla Warfare.²

Panthers were studying all revolutionary writings--communist and nationalist--since the time of Karl Marx, Chairman Seale announced in a speech at a Newton birthday celebration in Berkeley on February 16, 1969.³ As a "revolutionary black political party," Field Marshal Don Cox told a San Francisco rally, the Panthers "dig on all the people that held up the light before: Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Fidel, Ché, Lumumba and Malcolm," and all those continuing to show the way--including fighters in Africa and Latin America, Ho Chi Minh in Asia, and the Palestinian guerrilla organization, Al Fatah.⁴

The Panther leaders stressed that they were selecting from noted revolutionaries that which appeared applicable to their own position in American society and would not get "hung up" on ideological differences over which white radicals were then split. Ray "Masai" Hewitt, then deputy minister of information in the Los Angeles chapter, who within months would succeed Murray as national minister of education, explained in an interview:

We dig Chairman Mao, Ho Chi Minh, we have a profound love for Fidel Castro. I am not talking about their own individual ideological lines. We

dig what they are doing. They resist and as long as they resist we have a chance to survive.⁵

ADVICE FROM MAO TSE-TUNG

Panther Party mottos, such as those emphasizing the need for the gun in achieving political power, were frankly borrowed from the Red Chinese party chief, Mao Tse-tung. With the introduction of political education for Panthers, Mao's Quotations or "red book" was a basic teaching tool in local chapters. A former Panther attached to the national headquarters group, as well as other witnesses before HCIS, said Mao's advice was used "when applicable." The Panthers did not stress orientation toward "communism per se" but rather the discipline required of a revolutionary and the support of masses of people before a revolution can succeed.⁶

Wholesale borrowing from Maoist rules of discipline during the party reorganization was also evident when the Panthers first published their own 26 rules in their paper on January 4, 1969. The party appended "8 Points of Attention" and "3 Main Rules of Discipline" without attribution to Mao's Quotations in which they appeared in virtually the same form. Panthers thus were instructed to speak politely, pay fairly for what they buy, return everything they borrow, pay for anything they damage, not take a single needle or piece of thread from poor people, and obey orders in all their actions. A Maoist injunction against damage to crops was changed by the Panthers to damage to property. This and other adjustments made instructions to Chinese peasant-soldiers more applicable to residents of an American urban center. The Chinese-based "8 Points" and "3 Main Rules" disappeared without comment from issues of the Panther newspaper printed after August 23, 1969.⁷

Witnesses before HCIS and other sources of information indicated that, despite widespread "study" of Mao's Quotations, no great interest in or even understanding of communism was manifested by the rank-and-file party membership. Some members cited such "studies" as grounds for leaving the party. The interests of many members were limited to action programs on local issues. HCIS testimony also demonstrated that Mao's rule against theft was not firmly adhered to by Panther leadership and was not always enforceable considering the types of individuals attracted to the Panther organization.

The appeal of writings by current heads of communist states, some sources suggested, lay in their vigorous denunciations of the U.S. Government while professing concern for the plight of black Americans.⁸ Leaders of communist regimes in Cuba and China had issued repeated public declarations of sympathy and support for inner city rioters in America and had suggested that black Americans belonged in a third world "liberation" movement which would one day defeat an "imperialistic" U.S. Government.

In August 1967, Stokely Carmichael was an honored guest at a Havana conference at which Castro predicted that a "revolutionary movement" would emerge from the "oppressed" and rebellious black populations and would prove to be "a vanguard of a struggle called someday to liberate all of U.S. society."⁹ In August 1968, the Panther national Minister of Education George Murray was being entertained by Castro's regime.

The political education kit, issued by Panther headquarters under Murray's supervision, reflected the anti-U.S. Government line which the party always had in common with communist regimes. A discussion of "capitalism, imperialism (and) neocolonialism," the minister of education wrote, brings "the realization that we must resolve to defeat unconditionally the enemies of the human race." He identified "mankind's enemy" as the imperialist, capitalist, and racist domain of North America, and concluded:

Victory to the people; Panther Power to the Vanguard. Death to the imperialists, to the bankers, presidents, senators, congressmen, mayors, and all the enemies of the wretched of the earth.¹⁰

SHIFT FROM A BLACK NATIONALIST TO "INTEGRATED" REVOLUTION

From its inception and continuing until late in 1968, the Black Panther Party represented itself as a "vanguard" group which was willing to show black Americans the road to "liberation" or black autonomy within an "imperialist" and "racist" white American society.¹¹

As a result of a major shift in the party's orientation, the Panthers in 1969 appeared to view themselves as the organizers and leaders of that black revolutionary movement

which Fidel Castro declared would be in the forefront of a revolution eventually encompassing all of American society.

The change was the result of the Panthers' search in 1968 for a political "ideology" and reflected the influence on the party of its white radical allies.¹²

During 1969, the party's top leaders publicly advocated preparations for revolutionary struggles by both blacks and whites to tear down the present U.S. Government, to abolish the capitalist economic system, and to introduce socialism throughout America.¹³

No formal change was made in the party's published platform and program other than the substitution in July 1969 of the word "capitalist" for "white man" in referring to those "robbing" black communities. The new party position nevertheless abrogated the basic nationalistic goals enunciated at the inception of the party. Rendered meaningless was the party demand for a UN plebiscite permitting a majority of black Americans to decide upon the nature of their society and their relationship with white Americans.

The Panther leadership had submerged issues of integration, separation, and racism in its support for Marxist-type "class struggles." This was the complaint of nationalist-oriented members who were suspicious of "integrated" revolutionary struggles with white radicals because they questioned the commitment of white leftists to improving the position of black Americans.¹⁴

The anticapitalist, "class" revolution was not, apparently, made more palatable by party references for a short time to "two" revolutions. In a period also marked by extreme campus unrest, Newton talked in late 1968 and early '69 of the revolutionary potential of white students. The Panthers, Newton said, had therefore to fight on two fronts: to liberate the black colony as well as to "stimulate revolution in the mother country."¹⁵ In a taped message from jail to his birthday rally in Berkeley on February 17, 1969, Newton referred to campus radicals as "white revolutionary comrades" and proposed an escalation of "our offensive" by "the two-revolutionary force in the country ... the alienated white group and the masses of Blacks in the ghetto."¹⁶

To a black nationalist group called the Republic of New Africa, Newton offered the following defense of the

party's goal of an "anticapitalist" revolution directed at the whole of society by both black and white revolutionary forces: the ghetto already provided an "enclave" for doing battle against the established order. Additional territory for black Americans demanded by RNA would not bring "freedom" as long as America as a whole was an "imperialistic" and "capitalistic" nation. For blacks to be free, it was necessary to "wipe out once and for all the oppressive structure of America" with a "popular struggle" requiring many "alliances."¹⁷

An article in the party paper of May 25, 1969 presented the new position as follows: freedom for all the people depended on ending "capitalism, racism and imperialism" through a "revolution in the white mother country led by white radicals and poor whites, and national liberation in the black and third world colony here in America."

In March of 1969, the national council of the largest white radical student organization, the 40,000-member Students for a Democratic Society, claimed that they recognized the Black Panther Party as "the vanguard" in their common struggle for an anticapitalist revolution involving the whole of American society. The SDS also pledged propagandist support for the party program and legal defense efforts in behalf of Panther leaders.

Cleaver, in June 1969, declared that despite special problems of black people, a "united-front struggle" was necessary--a coalition of forces in the black and white communities to make a "common thrust against their common oppressor."¹⁸ According to Deputy Minister of Information Elbert Howard in a statement addressed to the Vietcong in November 1969: "We members of the Black Panther Party recognize that there is only one world and one revolution. The revolution is not split up between one community and another. The oppressor is manifested in the imperialist ruling class, wherever they may be."¹⁹

In his communication to the Republic of New Africa, Newton coupled an appeal for support for Panthers in legal difficulties with assurances that the party still considered itself subject to the majority will of black Americans, to be ascertained through a United Nations plebiscite after an anticapitalist revolution in the whole of America.

The denunciations of "black capitalism" by Panther leaders, however, and eventually talk of one anticapitalist

revolution for a socialist economic system did not appear to make allowances for alternatives favored by other black Americans. Cleaver's comments on how problems of "racism" would be resolved by an anticapitalist revolution offered little comfort to those Panthers who entered the party in response to "fight white racism" slogans. "The Black Panther Party does not and has never said that if socialism is instituted that racism automatically ceases," he declared. "... What we say is that in a socialist society the conditions are more favorable for a people to begin to struggle to eliminate racism."²⁰ Still later, he told an interviewer for the New York Times that "racial barriers will be broken down in the fires of (anticapitalist) struggle, out of a necessity to survive in a war situation."²¹

PANTHERS AS MARXIST-LENINISTS

The national leaders of both the Black Panther Party and its SDS ally professed a commitment to Marxist-Leninist principles in 1969 and described their goals as some form of socialism or communism.

Their terminology was reminiscent of groups such as the Communist Party, U.S.A. and the Progressive Labor Party, both organized as Marxist-Leninist revolutionary parties but in the first case, Soviet-oriented, and in the latter, inclined toward the line of the Soviets' rival, the People's Republic of China ("Red China").

The CPUSA, PLP, and other old left organizations expressed support for the revolutionary potential in both the BPP and SDS, often joined in coalition-type mass actions and performed important legal defense services. The groups, nevertheless, remained at odds over the most suitable leadership, political line, and tactics for revolutionaries in 20th century America.

The BPP was wary of CPUSA efforts to dominate, and it also showed a preference for Red Chinese advice to "third world" revolutionaries. The CPUSA on the other hand, reproved those Panthers who were suicidally talking of an imminent armed struggle in America. Both the CPUSA and its Maoist antagonist, the PLP, criticized the BPP's unorthodox interpretations of Marxist authorities. The Panthers' unorthodoxy included their failure to believe with Marx and Lenin that industrial workers (the proletariat) were the backbone of any "socialist" revolution.²²

In terminology, however, Panther leaders for a brief period sounded surprisingly like older orthodox Marxist organizations. Beginning in 1969, for example, Panther Minister of Information Cleaver insisted that "Marxism-Leninism" was a "very accurate and very useful analysis of the capitalist system" which helped to inform the Panthers "how we have to move in order to destroy the system of our enemies."

The Panther Party, Cleaver stated in 1969, was in fact a "Marxist-Leninist party."²³ (The top Panther, Newton, at the end of 1970 was also still insisting that "The Black Panther Party is a Marxist-Leninist Party....")²⁴

Chairman Seale made much of the fact that the Panther Party had defied Marxist theory by recruiting unemployed street youth (the lumpenproletariat) at the time of its founding in 1966. But Seale and Chief of Staff Hilliard declared in 1969 that Panthers were part of the "proletariat" (industrial workers) which Marx predicted would one day overthrow capitalism.²⁵ (This untenable claim was soon abandoned, however.) Newton was described in party propaganda of 1967 as the "child of Malcolm X." Seale described him in 1969 as a "Lenin," with Cleaver filling the role of a "Stalin."²⁶

In adopting a Marxist-Leninist outlook, however, the Black Panther Party appeared to some observers to be representing itself as more competent than other Marxist groups in applying Marxist-Leninist principles to the American situation and, therefore, the foremost authority on how to make a domestic revolution. (The "dogmatism" of the Panthers was Carmichael's complaint in his highly publicized resignation from the party in July 1969. The party leaders' castigation of white radicals who failed to agree with every Panther proposal at the July antifascism conference tended to bear out Carmichael's charges.)

Cleaver described the source of the party's ideas in the following fashion: "The ideology of the Black Panther Party is the historical experience of black people in their struggle against the system of racist oppression in Babylon, interpreted through the prism of Marxist-Leninist analysis by our minister of defense, Huey P. Newton."²⁷

Panther publications in the first half of 1969 were filled with advice to revolutionaries from Mao Tse-tung, and Newton expressed willingness to "follow the thoughts of

Chairman Mao." The party's paper that same month, however, also carried pages labeled "Quotations from Huey."²⁸

"Quotations from Huey" was largely Newton's statements when he was actively organizing for the party in 1967. The new line on the possibilities for socialist revolution in America which appeared in the Panther paper later in 1969 was often enunciated by Cleaver, writing from Algerian exile. The first of a purported series of articles by Cleaver "on the Ideology of the Black Panther Party" appeared in the June 6, 1970 issue of The Black Panther. No further articles were printed, however.

On August 5, 1970, Newton's release from prison pending a new trial put the party under the active command of its founder and top officer for the first time in almost three years. In statements, which the Panther paper sometimes reminded its readers were the words of the party's "supreme commander," Newton proceeded to redefine party goals. The Panther objective was no longer a socialist nation but transformation of all nations on the face of the earth into a one-world "intercommunalist" system.

Newton announced the change with the explanation that "history has bestowed upon the Black Panther Party the obligation to take these steps and thereby advance Marxism-Leninism to an even higher level."

A Newton speech was printed in The Black Panther under headlines adapting to the Panther Party the language by which the Chinese Communist Party customarily referred to its chairman, Mao Tse-tung: "Let us hold high the banner of intercommunalism and the invincible thoughts of Huey P. Newton, minister of defense and supreme commander of the Black Panther Party."²⁹

A SOCIALIST STATE AND FINALLY NO STATE

Despite expressions of personal distaste for capitalism by Newton and Cleaver, the Black Panther Party "doesn't advocate anything, really," the minister of defense insisted in 1968; "... we only interpret what the people seem to want." The battle being fought by the Panther Party at that time, Newton also stated, was in the "black colony."³⁰

The "socialist" revolution which replaced black self-

determination as the goal of the Panther Party during 1969 and much of 1970 was justified as follows in Newton's statement to Ebony magazine in August 1969:

Capitalism deprives us all of self-determination. Only in the context of socialism can men practice the self-determination necessary to provide for their freedom. This is the ultimate objective of the Black Panther Party.

A socialist revolution by both blacks and whites, Newton also explained, would replace the present form of U.S. Government administration and the economic system with new institutions more representative of the popular needs and will. The Panthers' community service programs were expected to spur the community into action to change the existing system.

Minister of Information Cleaver, sounding a theme repeated by Chairman Seale, predicted that the "revolution" for which Panthers sought popular support would lead to a "Yankee-Doodle-Dandy" kind of socialism. Cleaver said concentration on "making" the revolution did not allow time for designing a new society in detail, but he assured an interviewer that the Panthers were committed to the slogan "power to the people" and to democratic liberties which were not enjoyed after "socialist" revolutions in the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba.³¹

The goal of a national socialist revolution in the United States was abandoned when Newton was released from prison and redefined the party's long term objectives in a series of articles and speeches between August and November 1970.³² Newton acknowledged the shift in the party's orientation since its founding:

In 1966, we called ourselves, that is, the Party. We called ourselves Black nationalists because we thought that nationhood was the answer. Shortly after that we decided that what was really needed was revolutionary nationalism, that is, nationalism plus socialism. After analyzing the phenomena a little more, we found that it was impractical and even a contradiction.³³

The new line devised by Newton rejected all ideas of nationhood, alleged to be meaningless in a world dominated

by U.S. "imperialists." Panthers would no longer view black Americans as a colony or oppressed nation, Newton said. Nor would they seek conversion of the "imperialist" North American "empire" into a socialist nation. They would, instead, advocate the eventual disappearance of all national sentiments and national boundaries. The world should be a collection of free "communities," according to Newton, and an "intercommunal framework" devised providing for proportional representation and for equal distribution of the world's wealth among the various communities.

A "community" was described as a "comprehensive collection of institutions which serve the people." Red China, North Korea, and North Vietnam were cited as examples of "liberated" or "progressive" communities.

Revolutions by the world's peoples would eventually crush the North American "imperialist ruling circles" and put control of the means of production in the hands of the people. Thereafter, nationalist and racist ideas would be washed away and humanity would be united as a one-world "community where people will be happy, wars will end, the state itself will no longer exist, and we will have communism," according to Newton.

As leaders of a Marxist-Leninist party, Newton said he and Cleaver used the analytical methods of Marx and Lenin to arrive at the conclusion that the greatest revolutionary potential in modern times was in the "lumpenproletariat" (defined by Newton as the "unemployables" and "my people"). Newton said the "lumpen" could therefore be counted upon to "carry the people of the world to the final climax of the transformation of society."

The new Panther Party objective, Newton stated, corresponded with Marx's vision of a withering away of the state under "communism."

Newton suggested that Panthers begin referring to themselves as "intercommunalists" in keeping with the party's new vanguard position with respect to not only black Americans but all the people of the world. According to Newton:

The Black Panther Party would like to reverse [imperialist domination of the world] and lead the people of the world into the age of Revolutionary Intercommunalism.³⁴

HOW AND WHEN REVOLUTION WILL BE MADE

Panther leaders have given varying, and sometimes conflicting, assessments of the "ripeness" of the United States for revolution and the best means for hastening the event. Although all paid lip service to the need for popular support for any successful revolution, immediate use of "exemplary" violent actions was favored by some leaders. Others emphasized that "political" education and organization were necessary to assure mass support for a future violent social upheaval.

In 1968, with urban rebellions in mind and "black liberation" the party's chief objective, Newton's line was as follows: "There's a war going on inside America. The colony is attempting to free itself." White radicals should help blacks to "liberate" themselves, and show less preoccupation with demonstrations against American military support to the South Vietnamese. According to the Panther Leader, "resisting the military and the police in this country" would result in the opening of a homefront which would divert American troops from foreign fronts and thus aid "colonized" people in South Vietnam and in other parts of the world as well.³⁵

In 1969, when the objective shifted to a socialist revolution by both black and white forces, the party acknowledged the impact on its positions from campus rebellions in the 1968-69 academic year. Domestically, Panther officials plagued with legal problems chose to emphasize a new "community service" aspect of the Panther Party. A much more militant line emanated from Cleaver in Algeria, where, after almost a year's silence in Cuba, the Panther officer began to write and lecture extensively on the American "revolution."

National Panther officers within the United States made relatively few references in 1969 to party support for an eventual guerrilla or people's war in the United States. "You'll hear Huey say," Chairman Seale told an interviewer in a more militant stance early in 1970, "that when the people learn guerrilla warfare tactics and they see guerrilla warfare as necessary, when the people are educated to this there will no longer be a need for us to go to the streets."³⁶ Illinois Panther leader Fred Hampton explained that physical confrontations with police forces were only deferred: "We have to organize the people. We have to educate the people. We have to arm the people. We have to teach them about

revolutionary political power. And when they understand all that, we won't be killing no few and getting no little satisfaction, we'll be killing 'em all and getting complete satisfaction."³⁷

CLEAVER AND A "NORTH AMERICAN LIBERATION FRONT"

The Panthers' minister of information, however, in interviews immediately after his arrival in Algeria in the summer of 1969, called for the creation of a fighting "North American Liberation Front" in the United States.

In his talk with a West German journalist, Stefan Aust, Cleaver declared that armed struggles which were carried out in the mountains of Cuba and Vietnam could also be waged in the United States because "it has more mountains than all of these other areas," as well as large "rural areas" in which Government forces would find themselves very thinly spread.³⁸ In an interview with the American, Lee Lockwood, in Algiers in June 1969, Cleaver also called for guerrilla warfare in the United States, directed and coordinated by a North American Liberation Front, composed of revolutionaries of all races. But mountain fighting guerrilla tactics were "nonfunctional" in the United States and those who proposed them were "romantics," Cleaver told Lockwood. The minister of information felt it was necessary to think in terms of urban guerrilla warfare and even to study the model of the Mafia to learn how to move in an urban situation.³⁹

Cleaver was more consistent in his prediction that any revolution in America would be a violent affair. Saying that the new socialist society sought by the party in 1969 depended on violent overthrow of the existing order, he wrote:

use this
In order to transform the American social order, we have to destroy the present structure of power in the United States, we have to overthrow the government.... We must do this by the only means possible ... and the only means possible is the violent overthrow of the machinery of the oppressive ruling class.⁴⁰

He tried to put the breakfasts for schoolchildren program into a revolutionary context. Feeding children exposed

the failures of the "ruling class," Cleaver wrote, and also "liberated" children from hunger:

Revolution, in its essence, means precisely the re-arrangement of a system. Many people think of revolution only as overt violence.... This is only one phase of the revolutionary process.... It is the means for expropriating the land, the natural resources, the machines, all the means of production, the institutions of society--for taking them out of the control ... of those who have abused them.

Cleaver added that he personally would prefer to see "some liberated territory in Babylon (the U.S.) that we are willing and prepared to defend, so that all the exiles, fugitives, draft-dodgers, and runaway slaves can return to help finish the job."⁴¹

In a speech on September 22, 1969, during a trip to North Korea, Cleaver acknowledged that his views on the need for immediate assumption of armed hostilities in the U.S. were not necessarily shared by his comrades at home. "One of the slogans of the revolutionary movement inside the United States is REVOLUTION IN OUR LIFETIME!" he reported to a journalists' conference in the communist nation.

Cleaver appended his own opinion that it was, nevertheless, high time for "revolution to explode" inside the "fascist" and "imperialist" United States.⁴²

Cleaver was insisting in 1969 that a "revolution" or "war" was under way between various antagonistic forces in the United States, whether or not other persons were aware of it. The minister of information declared that actions of revolutionaries should be aimed at unlocking the revolutionary spirit which he claimed already existed in large numbers of the American people. People should be mobilized, he said, by revolutionaries beginning to fight in the manner of Castro's guerrillas who attacked an army barracks and signaled the start of the Cuban revolution.⁴³ (Cleaver thus was always optimistic about the possibilities for revolution in America. In October 1970, he was still telling interviewers that "... the revolutionary prospects inside the United States are very bright.")⁴⁴

CLEAVER'S SUPPORT OF TERRORISTIC ACTS

In the summer and fall of 1969, an aggressive "Weatherman" faction of SDS, claiming inspiration from the * Panthers, embarked on a program of hit-and-run street battles with policemen in various U.S. cities. The SDS group claimed to be opening a revolutionary front within the United States which would reduce the effectiveness of the allied military effort to prevent a communist takeover in South Vietnam, as well as help to free "political prisoners" like Panther leaders.

Newton, as previously noted, had called for a second front in 1968 in behalf of liberation of the black communities. However, by 1969 the party leaders within the U.S. were emphasizing "education" for a future revolution. They refused to endorse and remained aloof from Weatherman actions which were placing former white radical allies in the same legal difficulties as the Panthers.

Cleaver chose to defend the Weatherman strategy, declaring: "In times of revolution, just wars and wars of liberation, I love the angels of destruction and disorder as opposed to the devils of conservation and law-and-order."

"Actions speak louder than words," Cleaver said, citing Castro and Guevara as examples. Killing "pigs" in the streets of America spoke more eloquently for revolution than statements in courtrooms and press conferences, and if the Weathermen used iron pipes against policemen, "what's wrong with that?" he asked. Cleaver added that he considered Emory Douglas' cartoons in The Black Panther to be representative of the "ideology" of the Panther Party:

Emory's art says if we really want pigs dead (Lyn-
don Johnson, for example, or Henry Ford or his
cousin or his friends), then we must kill them.⁴⁵

In Cleaver's September 22, 1969, appearance before the North Korean journalists, the minister of information itemized some of the terroristic actions which were justified in the interests of revolution. Killing off the President of the United States and generals, as well as kidnappings and bombings, was sanctioned by the Panther official from the haven of foreign communist countries. He told the North Korean conference that:

... we need words [from journalists] that will make the soldiers, sailors, marines and special forces of the U.S. imperialists turn their guns against their commanding officers; words that will persuade them to evacuate South Korea, Vietnam, all the bases of U.S. imperialist aggression around the world; we need words that will return the U.S. troops to the United States with their guns still in hand, there to put before firing squads President Nixon, ex-President Johnson, all the generals of the U.S. Armed Forces, all warmongers and exploiters.

- ✓ We need articles by journalists that will inflame the masses, that will spur on the revolutionary temptation to kidnap American ambassadors, hijack American airplanes, blow up American pipelines and buildings, and to shoot anyone who uses guns and other weapons in the blood-stained service of imperialism against the people.⁴⁶

The advantages of political assassination were also pointed out by Cleaver a year later in an interview in Algiers with a New York Times correspondent. Discussing the vulnerability of U.S. cities to certain types of "sabotage" in the course of revolution, Cleaver went on to say:

- ✓ There are also advantages to political assassination, not that this can eliminate the function, but you know that the man will be replaced, and it has great educational value. It teaches the people to kill the enemy and hate the enemy. It would give me great satisfaction if Richard Nixon should be killed. I would consider that an excellent thing.⁴⁷

In a Columbia Broadcasting System television interview, shown to American audiences on January 6, 1970, Cleaver obligingly repeated his hopes for the demise of not only the President but other public officials. He told a CBS interviewer in Algiers that it was not mere "rhetoric" to say that a goal of the Panther liberation movement was to "take off the head" of President Richard Nixon, FBI Director Hoover, and Senator McClellan, who headed a Senate investigation of the Panther Party in 1969. Cleaver said the officials were regarded as criminals and their fate would depend on the resistance they put up.⁴⁸

A former national officer of the Panther Party, still sympathetic to the organization, told HCIS interviewers that

talk about "taking" the head off a Senator and other officials meant Cleaver was "running his mouth" to attract attention from the news media.

Whatever Cleaver's motive, his statements to CBS did nothing to assist Chief of Staff Hilliard, who a month earlier joined the other top Panther officers in the U.S. in jail on a charge of making a public threat against the life of President Nixon. Hilliard was arrested by Secret Service agents on December 3, 1969, after a Federal grand jury indicted him for "willfully and knowingly" threatening "We will kill President Nixon" in a speech at an anti-Vietnam war rally held by the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Viet Nam in San Francisco on November 15, 1969.⁴⁹ An interview of Hilliard by CBS News a week prior to the CBS interview of Cleaver recorded a denial by Hilliard of any intent to assassinate the President. Remarks for which he was indicted, he claimed, were "political rhetoric" and "the language of the ghetto."⁵⁰

As subsequently printed in The Black Panther, Hilliard's speech before 100,000 persons at a Golden Gate Park antiwar rally demanded that "peace" activists support a Panther proposal to barter with Hanoi for a release of American prisoners of war if the U.S. Government dropped criminal charges against imprisoned Panther Leaders Newton and Seale.⁵¹ If his audience couldn't relate to such a bid for freedom for Panther officers, Hilliard reportedly said, then Panthers "can't relate to the American people." He continued, according to the Panther paper, as follows:

We say down with the American fascist society. Later for Richard Millhouse [sic] Nixon, the mother fucker. Later for all the people out here that don't want to hear me curse because that's all that I know how to do.... I'm not going to ever stop cursing, not only are we going to curse, we're going to put into practice some of the shit that we talk about. Because Richard Nixon is an evil man. This is the fucker that unleashed the counterinsurgent teams upon the BPP. This is the man that's responsible for all the attacks on the Black Panther Party nationally. This is the man that sends his vicious murderous dogs out into the Black community and invade upon hungry kids and expect us to accept shit like that idly. Goddam that fucking man. We will kill Richard Nixon. We will kill

any mother fucker that stands in the way of our freedom. We ain't here for no fucking peace, because we know that we can't have no peace because this country was built on war. And if you want peace you got to fight for it.

NEWTON'S STATEMENTS IN 1970 ON THE REVOLUTION

At a press conference in his attorney's office following his release from prison in August 1970, Huey Newton declared: "This country cannot fight against every country in the world and fight a revolutionary war at home. I hope to do all I can to bring about that revolutionary war. The struggle is coming to a final climax."⁵²

"The people" must "rise up and take power," Newton said then and in subsequent statements. Without popular support, there could be no revolution, and one of the party's first duties was to "educate" the masses to the merits of revolutionary change.

The Panthers' highest ranking official did not appear to regard revolution in the United States as an imminent possibility. He recited (without attribution) the Chinese communist line that the United States would not be "liberated" until the developing nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America had been freed through revolutions. Rural areas of Cuba were first captured by revolutionaries and supplies cut off to the capital city, Newton said. The United States would be slowly strangled as raw materials were cut off by revolutions occurring in one nation after another, and "our final act will be the strike against the 'city' of the world"--the U.S.⁵³

The role of the Panthers, Newton explained in a statement taking the form of a message to the Vietcong, was to "keep fighting and resisting within the 'city' so as to cause as much turmoil as possible and aid our brothers by dividing the troops of the ruling circle."⁵⁴

Changing Panther goals apparently had not altered the Panthers' view of themselves as "part of the link in the chain of worldwide revolution."⁵⁵

Newton, in another interview within a week of his

release on bail, foresaw no prospects of nonviolent revolution:

We see the need to overthrow the evil gentry and corrupt officials and we see only one way to do this: we don't believe we can do it through negotiation or electoral politics or any kind of non-violent means.⁵⁶ X

In a speech in Philadelphia in September 1970, the minister of defense predicated the degree of revolutionary violence on the resistance encountered:

We will change this society. It is up to the oppressor to decide if this will be a peaceful change. We will use whatever means are necessary.⁵⁷ *

DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL ALLIES

Chairman Seale and Chief of Staff Hilliard made a speaking tour of the Scandinavian countries in March 1969. Hilliard and Minister of Culture Emory Douglas traveled to Algiers for a Pan African Arts Festival the following July. Cleaver's September 1969 trip to North Korea was the first public reception of a Panther official in a communist nation since Minister of Education Murray had been entertained in Havana in the summer of 1968.

Cleaver's address at the North Korean conference of journalists called attention to the prosecutions facing Panther leaders in the United States and the fact that by the summer of 1969, Seale had joined Newton in jail on charges that could result in the death penalty.⁵⁸

That same summer, SDS, which had served as a domestic ally from whom the Panthers obtained workers, funds, and publicity,⁵⁹ broke up into warring factions. As previously noted, members of the Weatherman faction of SDS were themselves prosecuted for street fighting until they converted into an underground terrorist group at the end of the year.

The head of the White Panther Party, John A. Sinclair, in Ann Arbor, Michigan, wrote in the Panther paper of October 11, 1969, that his group had been organized in the summer of 1968 as part of the clear duty of "white mother country revolutionaries" to join the Panthers in "liberating"

America. The letter was written from a prison where the White Panther leader was serving a 9-1/2-to 10-year sentence on drug charges.

Mention has already been made of the lack of enthusiasm among many predominantly white radical groups for joining a "united front" with the Panthers to push Panther community projects. Some of those at the 1969 antifascism conference, like Charles Garry, would not buy the Panther line that in 1969 America was "Fascist." Panthers claimed the nation was an "open terroristic dictatorship" resulting from the combination of "Capitalism" with "racism." Garry said he could agree only to the extent that "fascism" existed for the Black Panthers and residents of black and brown communities.⁶⁰ Continuous Panther publicity in 1969 favorable to Arab commando forces dedicated to the destruction of the State of Israel and Cleaver's contacts with groups such as Al Fatah after reaching Algeria added to alienation of white sympathizers.⁶¹

While the Panther Party's domestic alliances deteriorated in 1969, its international contacts grew as a result of the peregrinations of the party's exiled minister of information.

The party had sent no representatives to Cuba since that regime encouraged Cleaver to take up residence elsewhere in the summer of 1969.⁶² When SDS and other left organizations in the U.S. recruited young people for a Venceremos (Victory shall be ours) Brigade which would help Castro try to achieve a record sugarcane harvest late in 1969, a Panther paper editorial denied that several professed Panthers in the brigade were bona fide members of the party. A Cleaver statement in the same issue of the Panther paper charged that Cuba, ten years after its revolution, had not yet eliminated "all forms of racism."⁶³

The outcome of Cleaver's trip to communist North Korea in September 1969 was quite different. For at least six months thereafter, news and opinion from North Korea occupied the top billing in the Panther paper which had previously been reserved for advice coming out of Red China. Cleaver reported that the North Korean communists had developed the most "profound" Marxist-Leninist analysis, strategy, and tactics he had ever encountered.

The Panther paper also propagated Cleaver's discovery

of the Korean concept of "juche." Cleaver explained that juche (pronounced joo-che') meant self-reliance and independence of a communist party at a time when some communist nations sought to impose their policies on others. Juche provided justification for the Panther Party to interpret "Marxist-Leninist" principles in its own way, and to solve "all the problems of the revolution and construction [of a new society] in conformity with the actual conditions at home, and mainly by one's own efforts."⁶⁴

Field Marshal Don Cox said the Korean lesson was simply, "Use what you got to get what you need."⁶⁵

ASIAN COMMUNIST SOLIDARITY WITH THE PANTHERS

Subsequent to the Cleaver visit, the North Korean communist regime joined communist China in public expression of sympathy for black Americans and the Black Panther Party in particular. Statements from both countries concurred with the Panthers that the United States was the world's "public enemy number one" as a result of its "imperialistic" foreign policy and "Fascist" domestic programs. In an international broadcast denouncing a series of highly publicized police raids on local Panther offices in the U.S., marked by exchanges of gunfire in the fall of 1970, the North Korean radio declared the "people" expressed "solidarity" with the Panthers and "will as ever actively support and encourage their struggle." A Red Chinese broadcast on the same issue deplored the treatment of the party they considered to be a "progressive black organization."⁶⁶

On the eve of the September 1969 journalists' conference, several North Korean organizations had sent a cablegram to the Panthers' imprisoned chairman, condemning the "illegal" imprisonment of Panther officers. A New Year's Day greeting from the Black Panther Party to North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung in 1970 drew a telegraphic response expressing the "sympathy and solidarity" of the "Korean people" and the communist dictator's personal wishes for the Panthers' success in their "just struggle to abolish the cursed system of racial discrimination of the U.S. imperialists and win liberty and emancipation."⁶⁷

The minister of information in exile was back in North Korea for a month's stay in mid-July 1970. Prior to

his arrival, a telegram in the name of the central committee of the Black Panther Party was received by the premier in observance of the 20th anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean war. The message, as broadcast by North Korean radio,⁶⁸ commiserated with the North Korean communist regime for the "imperialist aggression" practiced by the U.S. Government against Korea, wished success to the regime, and designated August 18, 1970 as an "international day of solidarity with the black people of the United States."⁶⁹

Cleaver, accompanied by new left and "peace" movement activists on his second Far East trip, went on to North Vietnam for a two-week stay. He acknowledged making a broadcast in Hanoi, specifically directed toward black American soldiers fighting in behalf of the South Vietnamese Republic. The text of the broadcast in The Black Panther, September 26, 1970, disclosed that Cleaver urged black GIs to desert, commit sabotage, and "rip off" the commander of the U.S. forces in South Vietnam. Cleaver later expressed hope that the Panthers' International Section under his leadership would be able to recruit black GI deserters who had taken up residence in Europe.⁷⁰

Cleaver said he visited the communist Chinese on the same journey. Cleaver's expression of appreciation to Mao Tse-tung for Peking's support of black American struggles had won him publicity in Red China's Peking Review on June 12, 1970.

The "International Section" of the Black Panther Party was formally opened in Algiers under Cleaver's direction in September 1970. Cleaver described its main tasks as: internationally publicizing the Panther "struggle"; making alliances with other movements; receiving assistance from other groups; and laying proposals before the U.N. in the future.⁷¹

EXPLOITING THE VIETNAM WAR

In the autumn of 1969, the Panther minister of information negotiated with North Vietnamese representatives in North Korea in an attempt to get an agreement from Hanoi to release American prisoners of war in North Vietnam if the U.S. Government would agree to drop criminal charges against the top two Panthers, Newton and Seale.

During 1968 and continuing until August 1969, the

North Vietnamese Government sporadically released a total of nine American POWs to American "peace" movement activists, bypassing U.S. Government channels. At HCIS hearings in 1969 on the release procedures, testimony indicated that the POWs were returned as a communist "propaganda gambit" which also served to enhance the position of pro-Hanoi "peace" groups in the U.S.⁷²

Rennie Davis and Dave Dellinger, who were "negotiators" in some of the POW releases, issued a press statement on October 21, 1969, agreeing to repeat their efforts for the Panthers. They were barred by the court from foreign travels, however, because both were co-defendants with Seale in a trial then underway on conspiracy-to-riot charges.⁷³

The imprisoned Seale claimed in a message to American "peace" activists in November 1969 that Hanoi had announced its willingness to barter POWs for Panthers. The HCIS staff could find no evidence that North Vietnam ever responded favorably, or even publicly acknowledged, the Panther proposal. It also appeared that the American "peace" groups were uncooperative about furthering the Panthers' scheme to free the U.S. "political prisoners," Newton and Seale.

A Panther press release was circulated in November 1969 when mass anti-Vietnam war demonstrations were being staged in the U.S. by groups such as the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (New Mobe). The release denounced the New Mobe leadership for alleged failure to see the importance of the "black people's" struggle and demanded (without known success) that the organization dispatch delegates to Hanoi to negotiate under Cleaver's direction for a package Panther-POW release.⁷⁴

Newton launched another gambit apparently exploiting the Vietnamese war in order to call attention to the Panther cause shortly after his release from prison in August 1970. One of his statements on the party's new "one world" outlook was addressed to the "courageous revolutionaries of the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam." In recognition of U.S. "imperialism" as their "common enemy" and in a spirit of "international revolutionary solidarity," Newton said, the Black Panther Party offered to the NLF and PRG "an undetermined number of troops to assist you in your fight against American imperialism."⁷⁵

The Black Panther of January 9, 1971 printed a reply from the deputy commander of the South Vietnamese "People's Liberation Armed Forces" (Vietcong). The message, dated October 31, 1970, thanked Newton for the troop offer but saw no need for such "concrete assistance at this time." The Vietcong officer advised the Panther commander that "struggles" in the U.S. and on South Vietnam battlefields both made "positive contributions for national liberation and safeguarding the world peace," and "Therefore, your persistent and ever-developing struggle is the most active support to our resistance against U.S. aggression for national salvation."

RISING BELLIGERENCE OF PANTHER STATEMENTS

By 1970, Panther spokesmen in the United States appeared to take a more belligerent stance in a campaign to survive what they insisted was a national Government plot to exterminate them through law enforcement procedures.

As the Panthers' legal difficulties multiplied, leaders expressed continuing disappointment with the degree of assistance from white activists.⁷⁶ Some officers revived the militant line and even the black nationalist overtones which characterized the party before its attempt to build community support through service programs in 1969.

This theme was sounded by Cleaver in a March 2, 1970 press release from Algeria which urged "white people" not to "sit back" and allow Seale to be convicted on murder charges pending against him in the State of Connecticut. If white people did not answer the prosecution of Panthers by rising up in "class struggle" against the "Fascist" American system, Cleaver declared that "black people" would not accept the treatment of Seale and would "have to go it alone, thus transforming a dream of interracial solidarity into the nightmare of a Race War."⁷⁷

Other "Cleaverisms"--proposed as retaliation to free the Panthers from U.S. jails--included a January 1970 article proposing that black GIs in Vietnam either quit the Army or start destroying it from within by killing U.S. General Abrams, his staff and officers, and sabotaging supplies and equipment.⁷⁸ With a New York Times interviewer in November 1970, Cleaver chose to discuss acts of violence against police officers and judges:

... a dead pig is the best pig of all. We encourage people to kill them, because the police constitute an army.... I feel like the young brothers who went in the [Marin County, Calif.] courtroom and offed the judge. That's how black people should treat the courts in Babylon.⁷⁹

Elbert Howard, managing editor of the Panther paper and assistant minister of information of the party, uttered the same threat of "race" war in a speech at a university on April 14, 1970. He said Panthers had pursued a "myth" in working for a "class struggle" in the U.S., that whites were willing to fight only when their own interests were threatened, and the party was prepared to fight a "race war" to prevent an extermination effort by the Government.⁸⁰

Howard's editorial statements in the Panther paper also castigated whites for "lip service" to the Panthers' programs and for being unable to "take directions from Black people." He revived an earlier Panther proposal that black Americans arm themselves and create self-defense groups in their communities.

The declaration by Hilliard in his November 1969 anti-war speech--"We will kill any fucker who stands in the way of our freedom"--was sounded repeatedly in the Panther newspaper thereafter, in articles by Editor Howard and others. The Panthers' Minister of Culture Emory Douglas (whose art work in the newspaper continued to depict physical extermination of police and other "pig" representatives of the U.S. Government) was preparing a book of cartoons for printing under the title, "We will not hesitate to either kill or die for our freedom."⁸¹

Threats of a race war were incorporated in the Panther Party's call to a "Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention," the Panther Party's major activity in 1970, which was aimed at generating mass support and publicity. The call, released at a rally in Washington, D.C. on June 19, 1970, claimed that on the 107th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation "white America" was escalating "repression" and "genocide" against "black people" in the U.S. and on an international scale, and was "organizing the White race against the people of the world who have color."

If "white America" failed to respond to the Panthers' warning, the call declared:

... then we, Black people, will be forced to respond with a form of War of Salvation that in the chaos of carrying it out and the attempt to repress it, will gut this country and utterly destroy it. Before we accept Genocide, we will inflict Total Destruction upon Babylon.⁸²

An opening address to a plenary session of the convention in September 1970 by one of the 21 New York Panthers facing prosecution on bombing conspiracy charges was an exhortation to acts of violence. New York Panther Michael Tabor was quoted as urging everyone to dedicate himself "to the proposition that the only good pig is a dead pig" (using "pig" as a synonym for policemen and other representatives of authority). The speaker chose to define the Panther concept of self-defense as a preemptory attack on policemen "if you don't get him today, he will get you tomorrow."⁸³

NEWTON ON VIOLENCE

The newly freed Panther minister of defense, as previously noted, discussed force at the September convention only in the sense of its applicability in a revolutionary situation to those who "resisted" loss of power.

One of his few allusions to the advisability of violent actions in contemporary America occurred a few days after his release on bond pending a new trial for manslaughter of a police officer. On August 7, 1970, two days following Newton's release from jail, a shootout occurred in a Marin County courtroom in San Rafael, California, where a proceeding was underway involving two black inmates of San Quentin. The shootout was precipitated by an abortive escape attempt in which the judge, the prosecutor, and three women jurors were taken hostage. The judge, the two convicts, and a 17-year-old youth described as having been involved in the escape plot were killed in the shooting fray.⁸⁴

The Black Panther Party sponsored "revolutionary" funerals for the two convicts and their youthful accomplice (a service for one convict in Los Angeles and services for the second convict and the youth in Oakland). More than 1,000 persons turned out for ceremonies on August 15, in Oakland, supervised by Panthers in full-dress uniform and addressed by Newton and David Hilliard.

Newton pledged that the Panther Party "will follow the example that was set by these courageous revolutionaries... If the penalty for the quest for freedom is death--then by death we escape to freedom." Newton's eulogy also pledged "our lives" to accomplish goals set by the slain men, although none was represented as having any organizational tie to the Panthers. The rhetoric of the Panther leader also referred to a "high tide of revolution" which was about to sweep American shores, and to a "revolutionary lesson" taught by the San Quentin convicts.⁸⁵

Newton expounded again on the Marin County courthouse shooting in an interview with the "underground" press service, the Liberation News Service, on August 21, 1970, in New Haven. "I think that the Marin courthouse event, a colossal event, was some indication of what might happen in the future," Newton said. Asked how he could afford to make such a public statement, the Panther official replied:

Now as far as Marin is concerned, and all action by the people--the people have to perform these things. All we can do is set an example or educate the people either by illustrations or by lectures or by whatever way we can get through to the people. But the final task will be the people bearing the burden in changing things. So we can talk about all of those things with immunity, because we know that we can't do them anyway. We're probably the most focused upon Party in America at this time--by the wrong people, by the FBI, CIA and so forth--and so we can't indulge in those things. But the people will follow that example. And I think they will. I think that the Marin incident has a definite relationship to things that have been happening in Latin America and so forth. So I think world revolution now is a reality, and that the struggle is just intensifying.⁸⁶

Newton referred to concepts of "revolutionary suicide" and "reactionary suicide" in this and subsequent discussions of revolutionary theory. Reactionary suicide was defined as physical or spiritual death without lifting a hand to prevent it. A believer in revolutionary suicide, on the other hand, would not accept death meekly but would engage in head-on conflict with forces that are very strong and "individual chances of surviving are very slim." The Panthers, Newton said, must say, "if die we must, then we will die the death of the revolutionary suicide."⁸⁷

RENEWED INSTRUCTION IN GUERRILLA WARFARE

A call for the organization of "self defense groups" in black communities appeared in the Panther paper of March 21, 1970. The Panther paper of April 18, 1970 printed instructions by a Panther officer on "Organizing Self-Defense Groups."

Written and pictorial advice on the care and handling of firearms was offered, with the explanation that such information was "basic" training for members of a self-defense group. Equal space was allotted to simple methods for making "self-igniting Molotov cocktails" and "people's handgrenades."

The Panther author declared that the power structure and the police would not be allowed to define the means of struggle. What those in power call "terrorism" no longer had a negative meaning, but was even an "ennobling" action, the article claimed, citing a Brazilian urban guerrilla as an authority. A concept for self-defense--similar to that offered by the New York Panther at the aforementioned Philadelphia convention--permitted a self-defense group to take preemptive action:

In our 400 year struggle for survival it has been the guns and force manifested in the racist pig cops that occupy our communities that directly oppress, repress, brutalize and murder us.... So when a self-defense group moves against this oppressive system, by executing a pig by any means, sniping, stabbing, bombing, etc., in defense against the 400 years of racist brutality and murder this can only be defined correctly as self-defense. The slavemaster, however, through his lackeys and puppets calls it 'terrorism.'

At a Panther-sponsored Black Student Revolutionary Conference at Yale University, May 16-19, 1970, the Panthers set up workshops on urban guerrilla warfare. The Assistant to the FBI Director who made this disclosure stated that workshops dealt with the construction and use of incendiary and explosive devices and means of sabotaging public utilities. Techniques of attacking police were also discussed. 88

VIOLENT CONFRONTATIONS BETWEEN PANTHERS AND THE POLICE

Violent confrontations between Panthers and police officers occurred with increasing frequency in cities throughout the country in 1969 and 1970. *

The death toll was heavier for law enforcement officers than for Panthers. Policemen were usually felled by gunfire, but in varying circumstances. Incidents in 1969 often began with apparently routine police checks of a pedestrian, car, or building. In 1970, deaths were attributed more often to sniping or other ambush types of assault while policemen were engaged in routine patrols or sat in parked police vehicles. *

Eleven police officers were killed as a result of acts by persons identifying themselves as Panthers in the period 1967-70. The single death recorded prior to 1969 was that of an Oakland policeman in 1967, as a result of which Newton was still subject to legal proceedings four years later. * In 1969, four other policemen met death at the hands of Panthers (two of the fatalities occurring in Chicago and the others in the southern California cities of Los Angeles and Santa Ana). During 1970 six policemen lost their lives as a result of acts attributed to self-styled Panthers in Sacramento, Omaha, Chicago, Detroit, Toledo, and Baltimore. 89

Seventeen police officers were wounded in a total of eight confrontations which had resulted in death and/or injury to police in 1967-68. * The total of policemen injured jumped to at least 64 as a result of 23 separate incidents leading to death and/or injury of police officers in 1969-70. 90 Injuries were recorded most often among members of the Chicago Police Department, with California the second most common trouble spot.

By contrast, five Panther fatalities resulted from the incidents during 1969 and none at all in 1970. 91 *

Some of the circumstances in which violence exploded between Panthers and police are illustrated by accounts of the incidents by the press and other sources. The first police fatality since the 1967 Oakland shootout occurred around midnight on June 4, 1969, when a police officer in Santa Ana was shot without warning as he made a pedestrian check

(frisk) of two young men en route home from a Black Panther meeting.⁹²

Two California highway patrolmen stopped a car with a faulty taillight on the night of September 7, 1969, in the community of Gardena in Los Angeles County. According to a reconstruction of events by law enforcement officials, one of the officers was writing out a ticket when bullets struck him in the chest and knee. Three men in the vehicle escaped on foot after the shooting. In an episode that continued into the following day, the three at some time or another stole a pickup truck and eventually abandoned it. They were next spotted at a private residence where they commandeered the family car, taking a mother and five-year-old daughter as hostages. Another shootout ensued when police boxed the fugitives in an alley and rescued the hostages. When the shooting ended, the two-day toll of wounded included two police officers (one permanently paralyzed as a result of his wounds), a woman hostage and two of their assailants.

Two of the gunmen arrested on the scene, and a third who escaped and was apprehended later, were identified in the Panther Party paper as members of the party's southern California chapter.

When the third gunman was apprehended, he was charged with attempted murder in the September 7 shootout and with the actual murder three weeks later of a security police officer. Law enforcement authorities claimed that the officer had been sitting in his auto eating a sandwich in a Los Angeles shopping center when, in the early morning hours of September 29, he was cut down by seven bullets. The third gunman, identified as a section leader in the Panthers' Los Angeles organization, was convicted in both cases. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in April 1970 for the September 7 shooting, and in early May he was sentenced to death for the shopping center murder.⁹³

A Los Angeles distribution manager for the Panther paper was killed and another Panther wounded in a shooting fray in Los Angeles on October 18, 1969, which two police officers testified started as the officers sat in an unmarked car observing a restaurant plagued by robberies. Shotgun wounds in the back of the officer who fired the fatal shot were cited as evidence bearing out police accounts that Panthers opened fire as they approached from behind the police.⁹⁴

A four-hour gun battle erupted when Los Angeles police officers arrived at local Panther headquarters on December 8, 1969, with warrants for the arrest of two men charged with assault with a deadly weapon and to search for illegal weapons. Three police officers and two Panthers were wounded. Police found the Panthers heavily armed and the headquarters equipped with sandbags, reinforced doors, gunports, and an incomplete escape tunnel.⁹⁵

Two Oakland police officers were severely wounded when a police van in which they were taking four men to jail was ambushed on April 17, 1970. As police pursued a vehicle carrying their attackers, hand grenades were thrown from the vehicle, injuring a mother and child on the sidewalk. One of two assailants captured was identified as a captain in the Black Panther Party and his fully automatic weapon was traced to a bunker of a nearby military reservation.⁹⁶

ESCALATING VIOLENCE IN CHICAGO

One of a series of violent confrontations in Chicago during 1969 occurred around 2 a.m. on July 16, 1969, when two policemen responded to a citizen's complaint about a fruit-stand theft. As the officers discussed the theft with the owner and his friends, two Black Panthers approached, identifying themselves as "community leaders." After a great deal of Panther "mounting," eyewitnesses (confirmed in part by the Panther paper) reported that one of the Panthers started shooting. Both policemen and a friend of the fruit-stand owner were wounded before their assailant was shot down by one of the officers. (The Panther was hospitalized with gunshot wounds to ankle, thigh, and abdomen; his death in a hospital seven weeks later was attributed to jaundice.)⁹⁷

In the early morning hours of July 31, 1969, local police engaged in a 30-minute gun battle with Panthers at party headquarters in Chicago. Police reported that an attempt to investigate guns carried by individuals in front of the headquarters sent the suspects into the Panther building from which gunfire soon greeted them. With the aid of reinforcements, police entered the building and arrested three Panthers, slightly injured by broken glass. Four police officers were treated for minor gunshot injuries, and a fifth was hospitalized with a bullet wound in the leg.⁹⁸

Another gun battle took place in predawn hours of October 4, 1969, as police responded to what they described as sniper fire from the roof of the Panthers' Chicago headquarters. A policeman was wounded in the face by pellets and brick fragments, and some of the seven Panther officers and members in the headquarters who were arrested on attempted murder and other charges complained they were victims of police aggression.⁹⁹

A confrontation about 3 a.m. on November 13, 1969, in an abandoned building on Chicago's South Side, had more tragic consequences. While Panthers made their customary charge of a police "attack," research revealed that police had actually responded to a wife's fear for the safety of her prison-guard husband. Alarmed by alleged threats of a Black Panther to get the husband after a brawl near a tavern, the wife was instrumental in summoning two police officers to investigate persons lurking in an abandoned building across from the guard's home. When police entered the building, gunfire fatally wounded one officer and injured the other. Police reinforcements also suffered casualties before the shoot-out ended. The final tragic toll was two police officers and one Panther slain and seven police officers and one Panther wounded or hurt. A news bulletin from the local Panther chapter reported that the dead Panther had "defined political power by blowing away racist pig Frank Rappaport and racist pig John Gilhooly and retired eight other reactionary racist pigs before he was shot down."¹⁰⁰

A climactic confrontation occurred in Chicago on December 4, 1969, as a result of an effort by the State's attorney's office to execute a warrant to search for illegal weapons in an apartment rented by Panthers. The State's attorney's police, which are drawn from the Chicago Police Department and the county sheriff's forces, arrived at the Panther residence shortly before 5 a.m. A rifle shot which greeted them set off a barrage of firing by law officers which led to the deaths of the head of the Illinois Panther Party, Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton, and the head of the Peoria chapter, Defense Captain Mark Clark, as well as the wounding of two policemen and four Panthers.

Police seized an illegal sawed-off shotgun and a stolen police weapon and observed some 17 other weapons which had not been registered. A coroner's jury ruled in January 1970 that the shootings constituted justifiable homicide, and a county grand jury on January 30 indicted the seven surviving

occupants of the Panther apartment on attempted murder and other charges. Subsequent reports on the raid showed that the body of the top Illinois Panther was found in his bed. This led to a spate of announced plans for investigations by a Federal grand jury empaneled at the request of the U.S. Department of Justice on January 5, 1960; a citizens' "Commission of Inquiry" headed by a former Supreme Court Justice; and an unofficial body of U.S. Congressmen. A "people's inquiry" was scheduled by the Black Panther Party itself.

The Federal grand jury's findings on May 15, 1970 rebuked the State's attorney's office and various divisions of the Chicago Police Department for a raid which was "poorly planned and executed" and for "evidence which was mishandled." The news media were criticized for improper pre-trial publicity. Prosecution of surviving Panthers was dropped at the behest of the Federal grand jury, which found evidence of only one shot fired by a Panther and almost 100 gunshots by police in the confrontation.

Refusal of the Panthers to cooperate with the grand jury made it impossible to make a determination as to whether their civil rights had been violated, according to the panel. It found no fault with close police surveillance of the violence-prone Panthers or the practice of searches for illegal weapons. "The activities of violence-oriented groups such as the Panthers," the report concluded, "seriously complicate" the job of law enforcement agencies, which is to preserve order, administer justice, and guarantee the fundamental rights of all American citizens.¹⁰¹

The last Chicago fatality was reported to HCIS to be a result of a Panther-police confrontation on June 19, 1970. A patrolman was shot twice in the head with a sawed-off shotgun as he sat in his squad car making out a report, according to the local police department. A few hours later, police arrested five men including an individual identified in the national Panther newspaper as a member of the local Panther chapter. Police had stopped a car in which the men were riding because it lacked license plates. The Black Panther and one of his companions were convicted on September 15, 1967, of murder, armed robbery, and unlawful use of weapons. (Another was found innocent on that date and the remaining suspects awaited trial.) On February 19, 1971, a judge sentenced the Panther to a prison term of 15 to 50 years.¹⁰²

Additional highly publicized violent confrontations during 1970 included the fatal shooting of one police officer and the wounding of another as the two sat in their police car in Baltimore, Maryland, on the night of April 24, 1970. (Arrest in the shooting led to a first degree murder conviction of a Baltimore Black Panther on January 15, 1971.)¹⁰³ Gun battles between Panthers and local police followed the slaying of a Toledo, Ohio policeman who was shot at pointblank range as he sat in a parked police vehicle on September 18, 1970,¹⁰⁴ and the death of a Detroit, Michigan policeman on October 24, 1970. The press reported a gunblast from an office of a National Committee to Combat Fascism felled the policeman. He was responding with other reinforcements after gunfire capped scuffling between police and Panthers who were blocking a sidewalk to persons who refused to buy Panther literature.¹⁰⁵

An ex-Panther testified before HCIS that two men were arrested in Detroit a couple of weeks prior to his July 21, 1970 testimony, for sniping at police officers driving by in their police car. The witness said he had removed the men from the security squad of the Detroit Panther chapter because of their unreliability, and he claimed both were associated in 1970 with a more violence-prone successor to the Panther chapter, known as the National Committee to Combat Fascism.¹⁰⁶

OTHER TYPES OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITY

Allegations that Panthers tortured individuals suspected of being police informants were made not only in the New Haven court case involving the May 1969 torture-slaying of Panther Alex Rackley but also in others. A shootout ensued around New Orleans NCCF headquarters on September 15, 1970, when local police tried to investigate beatings administered there to two police undercover agents.¹⁰⁷ In late 1970, court proceedings began against a group of Baltimore Panthers charged with varying offenses as a result of a July 1969 torture-murder of a local man suspected of being an informant.¹⁰⁸

Police raids on local Panther headquarters or arrests of Panthers on a variety of criminal charges frequently led to the discovery of sizable quantities of guns and ammunition and, on occasion, explosives. Those police departments which responded to an HCIS survey of Panther activity in

their cities reported that 36 local Panther affiliates were known to possess firearms and eleven had them in such quantities that police referred to them as stockpiles. Seventeen of the active affiliated groups were also reported to have had explosives in their possession. (Stockpiling per se, it should be noted, is not necessarily illegal, and laws regarding possession of explosives vary from State to State.)

The police survey of the BPP revealed that 15 Panther locals had sandbags in their headquarters or were otherwise barricaded in a manner suggesting the occupants were prepared for a possible shootout. After the widely publicized December shootout in Chicago, the Seattle chapter was relocated in a two-story house combining living and office space. The second story was fortified with sandbags, sheet metal, and an illegal automatic rifle. Fortification of the Los Angeles chapter has previously been described.

Criminal charges brought against Panthers throughout the country during 1969 and 1970, according to the party's own paper, continued to cover a broad range of offenses: traffic violations, disorderly conduct, possession of drugs, * purse snatching, burglary and robbery, unlawful use and/or possession of weapons, possession of explosives, assault with a deadly weapon, murder, and conspiracy to commit murder.¹⁰⁹ The FBI Director reported that 348 Black Panthers were arrested, during 1969 alone, on a variety of serious criminal charges:¹¹⁰ murder, armed robbery, rape, bank robbery, and burglary.

Arrests on charges ranging from purse snatching to serious felonies were itemized in the Panther paper on February 21, 1970, as evidence of "intimidation" and "Fascist crimes by the U.S.A." A press conference held in Washington, D.C., on January 9, 1970, by the Panthers' national minister of education in the aftermath of the Panther fatalities in Chicago promised that the party would go before the United Nations to press charges of "genocidal" U.S. Government intentions with respect to the party.¹¹¹ The theme was repeated by the Panthers' attorney, Charles R. Garry, and quoted widely in the news media, which even made reference to "urban guerrilla warfare" between Panthers and police.¹¹²

Private research into the circumstances surrounding ten Panther deaths at the hands of policemen (all of which occurred in the 1968-1969 period) disclosed that in every case some of the Panthers involved were armed and represented

a threat to police. Six of the ten died at the hands of seriously wounded policemen who had reason to believe their lives were in danger, and the researcher found no positive evidence that these policemen even knew they had been shot by Panthers. (For example, some Panthers were confronted as burglary suspects.) The two cases in which Panthers were killed without a direct threat to a policeman's life were identified by the researcher as Bobby Hutton, shot while running from the scene of an Oakland shootout in April 1968, and Illinois Panther Hampton, apparently hit by stray bullets during the December 1969 raid in Chicago.¹¹³ A study of fatalities, the researcher concluded, offered no substantiation for "exaggerated charges" bandied about that police forces were engaged in a deliberate campaign of genocide (in the sense of physical extermination).¹¹⁴ However, it should be noted in the case of Fred Hampton that indictments were later made against several Chicago police officers and a high-ranking Cook County public official.

Panther run-ins with law enforcement authorities in Chicago in 1969 were the result of street crimes, possession of weapons and sporadic shooting sprees with those weapons. The previously mentioned Federal grand jury noted the existence of a kind of vicious circle:

The pattern had become familiar. Because of the Panthers' well-publicized reputation as violence-prone revolutionaries with a particular hostility for police, law enforcement agencies kept them under tight surveillance and were especially alert for Panther crimes. For their part, the Panthers could be counted on to emphasize their social improvement programs and to charge publicly that any law enforcement activity directed at a member or a sympathizer was part of a conspiracy of repression. And Chicago's competitive news media would report every charge and countercharge in meticulous detail.¹¹⁵

VARYING VIEWS OF LOCAL PANTHERS ON THE USE OF VIOLENCE

There was a lack of Black Panther uniformity with respect to orientation toward violence. Although some degree of hostility toward police forces was common to all chapters, shootouts and other violent confrontations with police were

uncommon.¹¹⁶ A chapter occasionally switched from relatively pacific to belligerent policies (or vice versa) in different periods and with leadership changes.

Such criminal acts as burglaries, attempted extortion followed by arson, and beatings, attributed to a group of Seattle Panthers in 1968, tapered off by the spring of 1969. Four of the Seattle Panthers were accused of engaging in sniping at policemen in that period, for the stated purpose of getting "rid of pigs," and some of the beatings were administered to Panthers who wanted to quit the party.

In Detroit, on the other hand, a former Panther described the chapter as nonviolent and community service-oriented from 1967 until the summer of 1969 when a new group of Panther supporters influenced by policies learned at national headquarters began to talk up the virtues of violent actions against police officers and property. A few Panthers who had traveled to Oakland and then tried to inculcate hit-and-run "kill-the-police" tactics in the Kansas City, Missouri, chapter were halted by the leaders. Panther-police relationships remained on the level of "psychological," rather than shooting warfare. The lack of aggressiveness of Panther affiliates in Indianapolis and Philadelphia was a cause for complaint from representatives of the national Panther hierarchy.

More uniformity was observed in public acknowledgments by chapter leaders that they were part of a national organization preparing the ground for a revolution in the United States. The revolution was described as a future event which would occur after Panthers finished arming, organizing, and educating the "people."

Some chapter leaders characterized the forthcoming upheaval as an inevitably violent affair. Speeches by spokesmen for the Seattle chapter predicted guerrilla warfare, while the Kansas City chapter chairman talked of "armed" struggle and a "holocaust" in one of his press interviews. Detailed instructions for creating "chaotic" conditions in the course of revolution were contained in a document obtained by informants from the headquarters of the Indianapolis chapter of the Panther Party but allegedly prepared by a Panther affiliate in Chicago. The document declared a "people's revolution" in the State of Illinois would require the destruction of communication and transportation networks and the execution of city, State, and Federal officials.¹¹⁷

The results of such a revolution were not consistently or clearly projected by local leaders. The Seattle chapter chairman preached that there would be an equal distribution of wealth in post-revolutionary American society, with Cuba used as a model. The Kansas City chapter head spoke of achieving an American form of socialism, while expressing admiration for Chinese communist policies. The "power to the people" slogan of the party meant power in the hands of "black people" in separate black communities to some Panthers, even though whites would join in carrying out a nationwide revolution. One ex-Panther described local chapter discussions which indicated expectations of a Black Panther Party dictatorship over the whole of U.S. society.

Not all local leaders and members of Black Panther Party chapters approved of violent confrontations with law enforcement officers or supported the revolution which was discussed in political education classes introduced on orders from the national leadership beginning in late 1968. Not only were some of the rank-and-file members against the idea of violent revolution, an ex-Panther from Philadelphia stated, but "most of the local leaders aren't that heavy." They were more interested in purely local actions to deal with local problems. In the generally unaggressive Detroit chapter there were those who approved and others who disapproved of the national organization's call for violent revolution in America. The same was true in the Kansas City chapter, according to a former officer. On the other hand, there were chapters such as Seattle's, which enjoyed its peak membership when it was openly giving its members military training for the forthcoming revolution.

A CONVENTION TO WRITE A NEW U.S. CONSTITUTION

The Panthers' second mobilization of supporters around the country in an assemblage which served to focus national publicity on the Panther cause took the form of a convention to write a new U.S. constitution. Plenary sessions of a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention were scheduled for Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C., in the fall and winter of 1970. Although several thousand persons showed up in both cities, the convention floundered in the nation's Capital and no constitutional document of any kind was adopted. Nor was there any continuing community program, as was the case after the first

national conference which the Panthers called in July 1969 to build a United Front Against Fascism.

A second constitutional convention for America had been projected a year earlier by the Panther minister of information, Eldridge Cleaver, as a possible aftermath to revolution, so that a capitalistic economy would be officially replaced with an American style of "socialism or communism."¹¹⁸

According to a Panther leader of a workshop at a convention session, revision of the U.S. Constitution without political power to make it effective was an "educational" effort. The new constitution would help to "educate" and "unite" people in behalf of a Panther-style revolution in the United States.¹¹⁹

As previously noted, the call to this constitutional convention--released at a Panther rally in Washington, D.C., on June 19, 1970--contained a threat of race war if interracial efforts did not halt repression and genocide against black Americans. The possibility of separatism was also raised in the call: "For us, also the alternatives are absolutely clear: the present structure of power and authority in the United States must be radically changed or we, as a people, must extricate ourselves from entanglement with the United States."¹²⁰

The first "plenary" session of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention opened on September 5, 1970, at Temple University in Philadelphia with speeches by New York Panther Michael Tabor and Minister of Defense Newton. The New York Panthers' encouragement of acts of violence against police and other authorities, and Newton's more restrained reference to future revolutionary violence in the event of "resistance" from the power structure have previously been referred to. Newton's long speech in a university gymnasium also promised that alternatives to the American system to be prescribed by a new constitution would be founded on a "new economic system--a Socialist framework."

The Panther paper reported that about 2,000 persons had registered the preceding evening, and plenary sessions on September 5 and 6 attracted 5,000 to 6,000 persons. Leaders of workshops, held on September 6, conferred on September 7 to conclude the first stage of the constitutional convention.¹²¹

All "oppressed" ethnic minorities in the United States and others who questioned whether the present Constitution adequately protected their "rights" were invited by the Panther "call" to express their views at the constitutional convention. Youth, women, soldiers, and elderly people were among those specifically invited. The proportion of whites at the Philadelphia session was estimated at from 25 to 40 per cent, in contrast to the white majority at the United Front Against Fascism conference a year earlier. There were reportedly members of such organizations as SDS; the Young Lords Party; the Youth Against War and Fascism, youth arm of the Workers World Party, a dissident Trotskyite organization; and the Yippies.¹²²

Considerable press attention was attracted by the welcome given to members of Women's Liberation movements. Newton advised Panthers to overcome prejudices which he himself shared and permit "full participation" of members of the movements in Panther conferences, rallies, and demonstrations. "We should try to form a working coalition with the Gay liberation and Women's liberation groups," he explained, because some of them are sincere revolutionaries and, furthermore, they are "our friends, they are potential allies, and we need as many allies as possible."¹²³

The independent communist weekly, Guardian, reported that the greatest enthusiasm in the September 6 plenary session was generated by reports from the workshops on "sexual" rights and the rights of street people. A spokesman for the Gay Liberation Front announced that the front recognized the Panther Party "as the vanguard of the revolution" (a position taken 18 months earlier by the then viable Students for a Democratic Society). A report from the street people's workshop upheld use of hallucinogenic drugs as a tool for building "revolutionary consciousness" (in contravention of the Panther Party's own rules against mixing drugs with the tasks of making revolution).¹²⁴

Proposals offered at Philadelphia were supposed to be fashioned into one or more draft constitutions to be submitted for ratification at convention sessions in Washington, D.C., November 27-29, 1970. A predominantly white delegation, variously estimated at 2,500 to 5,000 in number, arrived in the nation's Capital to find no convention facilities available which would accommodate all of them. The Panther Party did not pay the more than \$10,000 rental required in advance for use of facilities at Howard University in the District of Columbia.

Convention participants spent much of two days aimlessly sitting or wandering about Washington streets and the area around several local churches which offered makeshift accommodations. The only formal activities were a rock concert on the evening of November 27 and speeches by Newton and Tabor in church facilities on the night of November 28. The same organizations and movements represented at the Philadelphia session were reported to be represented in Washington as well.

Newton told the Panthers' supporters who had traveled to Washington that they had a "raincheck" for another Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention which would be held after the revolution. Newton took the line, repeated in a formal Panther Party statement in the next issue of its paper, that the convention was being converted into a "mobilization" of the people for survival until the nation and its capital became a "liberated community."

Lack of convention facilities--due to what Panthers claimed was a last-minute demand for advance payment of rent--was denounced as a plot of the "Fascist ruling class." The statements in Washington by Newton and Tabor and a party document circulated at the same time, however, showed that the project to write a new national constitution was not in harmony with the "philosophy of intercommunalism" which Newton had recently imposed upon the Panther Party.

Newton's previously described "rejection" of nationalist concepts in favor of a one-world "community" was reflected in the party declaration circulated in Washington and reprinted in The Black Panther on December 5, 1970. The party told its supporters in Washington that they were now being asked to think in terms of "formulating a new constitution for a new world."¹²⁵

PROBLEMS FACING REVOLUTIONARIES IN 1971

The number of Black Panther Party affiliated organizations scattered throughout the nation multiplied during 1970, according to the FBI's Director.¹²⁶

A new emphasis on recruitment for the revolution from within jails and prisons was illustrated by an announcement in the February 27, 1971 Panther paper that a branch of the party had been formed in San Quentin.

"We have to wage a struggle inside the jails and prisons simultaneous with the struggle in the streets," a caption accompanying a photograph of that maximum security facility in northwestern California proclaimed. A message from the State prison branch of the party observed that "The increase in revolutionary prisoners has proportionately increased the level of political awareness throughout the penal system." The branch informed the Panther publication that it would try to increase the "awareness" of San Quentin prisoners with the aid of "revolutionary literature."

Publicity in the Panther paper on the party's community service programs such as free breakfasts and health centers revealed the addition of a new service in 1971. The Panther chapter in Chicago and a National Committee to Combat Fascism in Cleveland, for example, offered free busing of visitors to nearby prisons.¹²⁷

The Panther paper disclosed party efforts to arouse national and international support for Panther leaders on trial in the early months of 1971. The prosecution was still presenting its case in the new year against 13 of the aforementioned "New York 21" charged with bombing conspiracy and other illegal acts. Jury selection for the first group of the New York Panthers to be tried actually began on September 8, 1970.

As the new year opened, the prosecution and defense were still arguing over jurors who would hear the State of Connecticut's case against Panther national chairman, Bobby Seale, and Ericka Huggins, organizer for the State Panther organization. Jury selection began on November 17, 1970, in this prosecution arising out of the torture-murder of Panther Alex Rackley in 1969. Charges against the two defendants included capital offenses of murder and kidnaping resulting in death.

Panthers tried to stir up interest in an "Intercommunal Solidarity Day" to be observed throughout the world on March 5, 1971, to focus attention on the Seale-Huggins prosecution. Connie Matthews Tabor, the "international coordinator" of the party in 1970 who now was working with Newton out of Oakland national headquarters, announced that demonstrations would be held on that date in Germany, England, Belgium, Italy, France, Denmark, Sweden and The Netherlands. Kathleen Cleaver was allegedly scheduled to arrive from Algeria to speak with Newton at a mass rally in Oakland on March 5.¹²⁸

Cartoons in the Panther paper continued to depict various acts of violence against the police or military. A full page of news items, all involving killings of police officers in American cities bore the heading: "News briefs: Guerrilla Attacks in U.S.A. February, 1971." An editorial comment described the deaths as "successful executions of fascist police."¹²⁹

Instructions in the care and handling of weapons and discussions of guerrilla warfare tactics also appeared in the Panthers' weekly paper in 1971. The author of some of this advice, as in the past, was Panther Field Marshal Donald Cox, fugitive from justice residing in Algeria. Cox joined Cleaver's International Section of the party, now known as the "Intercommunal Section," after he was charged early in 1970 with complicity in the torture-murder of a Baltimore man suspected of being a police informant.¹³⁰

Cox's instructions in the Panther paper, under the heading "Organizing Self-Defense Groups," contained his customary explanation of differences in the firing power of guns and appeal for continuous practice with them. However, from the security of exile he publicly exhorted those he had left behind to engage in guerrilla-type activity without delay. "Attack at will" the police "communication and transportation system" in the U.S., was Cox's advice in a section on the importance of sabotage in a guerrilla operation. Cox also seconded Cleaver's appeal to GIs to turn their weapons against their officers. Cox added that GIs should bring all the weapons they could lay hands upon to help "freedom fighters" (whose ranks Cox had just deserted) carry out a "war of true liberation" in the United States.

CRACKS IN THE PANTHER EDIFICE

The new year brought the first signs of serious internal strife in the Black Panther Party. By March 1971, the dissension led to an open break between two of the most prominent Panthers, the party's founder and minister of defense, Newton, and minister of information in exile, Cleaver.

Newton announced in the party's paper of January 23, 1971, that five west coast Panthers had been purged for attempting to organize themselves into a roving armed band. One of the five was Elmer Gerard Pratt, more commonly known as Geronimo. He was the deputy minister of defense

for the Panthers' southern California chapter, located in Los Angeles, in 1969 and 1970, but he functioned from an "underground" or concealed location. In the summer of 1969, he faced charges in Los Angeles of illegal possession of bombs. He was again arrested with 18 other Panthers and charged with attempted murder when police raided Panther offices and a residence in Los Angeles on December 8, 1969. His next arrest, in December 1970 in Dallas, added a new charge of fleeing California to avoid prosecution.¹³¹

In announcing Geronimo's expulsion from the party, Newton declared the Los Angeles Panther had been guilty of self-indulgent and careless conduct which was not conducive to a clandestine existence. Newton also accused him of being dissatisfied with the financial support provided by the Panther Party and with threatening Newton and Chief of Staff Hilliard with assassination if his demands for more money were not met.

Purges of eleven east coast Panthers, having more far-reaching consequences, were announced by the party's central committee in The Black Panther of February 13, 1971.

The committee confirmed a mimeographed statement circulated on February 9, in Newton's name, which declared that nine New York Panthers then in jail and then on trial on bombing conspiracy charges had been expelled "for their attacks on the Party." Newton's statement was passed out by Panthers near the courtroom where the nine were on trial together with four other New York Panthers who remained free on bail. All 13 were among the original "New York 21" indicted in the spring of 1969.¹³²

The Panther newspaper said the nine expressed their divergent views in an "Open Letter" addressed to the SDS underground Weatherman faction and printed in the January 19, 1971 issue of the New York newspaper, east village OTHER.¹³³ The letter, actually signed "Your fellow guerrillas in the revolution, the Panther 21," criticized a Weatherman declaration in December 1970 that the SDS faction had made a "military error" in deciding a year earlier that armed struggle and reliance on guns and bombs were the "only legitimate form of revolutionary action." The New York Panthers regretted that members of the SDS faction had come to believe that there was also virtue in open activity such as rallies and mass demonstrations. Opposition to the Vietnam

war, support of individuals in legal difficulties, such as the Panther leaders, and support of rebellious prison inmates were suggested as issues for mass demonstrations in the Weatherman communique.¹³⁴

Although Newton and the Panther Party were never mentioned, the New York Panthers' criticism of the Weatherman statement clearly also applied to tactics pursued by the Panther Party. Whereas the Panther paper in 1971 repeatedly referred to the party as "the vanguard" of the American revolution,¹³⁵ the New York Panthers stated that they regarded the SDS underground group as "one of the--if not the true vanguard" in the United States "at this time." Prospects of a "real" revolution with armed struggle were reduced when revolutionaries involved themselves with issuing newspapers and holding rallies and conventions, the Open Letter contended.

EMPHASIS ON IMMEDIATE URBAN GUERRILLA ACTIVITY

Like Cleaver, the Panther dissidents sided with Latin American revolutionaries who preached that immediate armed struggles would best unlock the revolutionary energy of masses of people. Mocking those who talked of "revolutionary suicide," the Open Letter declared that mass demonstrations had to be combined in a "coordinated way" with "the rebellion of the urban guerrilla." "We desperately need more revolutionists who are completely willing and ready at all times to KILL, to change conditions," the letter stated. Noting that the Weathermen themselves agreed that their bomb attacks had had a "devastating" political effect, the Panther letter suggested that targets should be selected with more care in the future, in order to have a greater effect on the American economy and to obtain money and weapons for the movement. The "war is on," the New York Panthers declared, and if whites from the mother country did not help, blacks in the colony and their third world allies would simply "go it alone."

Two of the "New York 21" who were free on bail and who did not join in the foregoing dissent failed to appear when legal proceedings against them resumed in a New York City courtroom on February 8, 1971. The judge immediately revoked bail for two other defendants still at liberty, sending them to join the dissident defendants in prison. The two

fugitive defendants, Michael Cetewayo Tabor and Richard Dharuba Moore, together with Tabor's wife, fled to Algeria. In a video tape released by the New York Panthers a month later, Tabor complained that Newton failed to live up to the members' "expectations" of him and the leader's talk about "intercommunalism" in November 1970 led to a gradual drifting away of the party's membership.¹³⁶

The Panther central committee, in the party paper of February 13, 1971, declared the three to be "enemies of the people" expelled "for life." The committee claimed that their "treacherous acts" involved not only bail-jumping but also loss of important records maintained by Mrs. Tabor.¹³⁷ The two Panther defendants who were remanded to jail after the escape of Tabor and Moore, and the entire New York chapter of the party, were shortly thereafter expelled by the national headquarters for taking the side of the fugitives.¹³⁸

A San Francisco television program brought about Cleaver's public intervention in the dispute on February 26, 1971, by arranging an intercontinental telephone discussion between the exiled Panther and Newton. Cleaver called for reinstatement of the Los Angeles Panther "Geronimo," the New York defendants and their Panther chapter, and the expulsion of Chief of Staff Hilliard.¹³⁹ A second intercontinental interview by a wire service representative in early March sought Cleaver's reaction to a Panther paper article accusing him of abuse of his wife and the murder of another Panther in Algeria. Cleaver and his wife denied the charges and the minister in exile also declared that he was "expelling" from the party its commander, Newton, and his chief of staff, David Hilliard.¹⁴⁰ The New York Panther chapter had similarly "expelled" Newton and Hilliard a few days earlier.¹⁴¹

A tape by Cleaver, made available by the dissident New York Panthers on March 4, 1971, criticized Newton for creating a "bureaucratic" party machinery and for opposing a shift to an underground party operation. Cleaver felt the party was putting too much emphasis on mass actions and the defense of "political prisoners" and too little emphasis on "military struggle."¹⁴² (New York Panthers told the New York Times that Oakland headquarters paid more attention to legal defense for national officers than to New York members who had been in jail since the spring of 1969. Oakland was also accused of being angry about its inability to "control" the New York chapter.)¹⁴³

Another tape publicized by the New York chapter on March 4 was a conversation between Cleaver and Newton on February 27, 1971, in which the defense minister read out of the party the entire Algerian section including Cleaver.¹⁴⁴

The fatal shooting of a New York Panther officer on March 8, 1971 was attributed by spokesmen for the chapter to Panther assassins sent by Newton from the west coast. The Panther, shot in the daytime on a Harlem street, was identified as a deputy field marshal who favored Cleaver over Newton.¹⁴⁵ A deputy minister of information for the New York chapter announced about this time that his group was setting up a new national headquarters of the Panther Party in New York City and would publish its own newspaper.¹⁴⁶

The first official statement on the controversy from the Oakland national headquarters was a central committee declaration in The Black Panther of March 20, 1971, that the entire "Intercommunal Section" in Algiers, which included its director, Cleaver, and his wife, had "defected" from the party.

Chairman Seale broke his silence on the party's internal problems with a letter from jail printed in the April 3, 1971 edition of The Black Panther and also issued to the press by national headquarters on April 7. Seale denounced Cleaver for "divisionary" and "counter-revolutionary" actions but insisted, "There is no split in the Black Panther Party, at all."¹⁴⁷

Newton came up with lengthy analyses which held Cleaver largely responsible for serious mistakes in Panther policies in the past and used Cleaver's departure as a signal for a new soft-sell party line. Like Seale, Newton scoffed at the idea that the party was "split" into factions, pointing out that only two eastern affiliates sided with Cleaver while 38 others remained loyal to the Oakland headquarters.¹⁴⁸ Despite many positive contributions, Cleaver erred in believing revolution could be made by armed Panther-police confrontations rather than by winning popular support through serving the needs of the black community, according to Newton. He described the party's decision to ally with white radicals late in 1967 as another mistake which put the party in a "twilight zone"--unable to mobilize whites yet unable to influence blacks. The alienation of the black community resulting from the use of profanity in speech and publications

was also blamed on Cleaver, although the entire party was assigned some responsibility for implementing such tactics.¹⁴⁹ Cleaver "defected" from the party, Newton declared, "because we would not order everyone into the streets tomorrow to make a revolution." However, as a result of mistaken policies initiated by Cleaver, the party had long ago "defected" from the black community, Newton added.

The departure of Cleaver, the defense minister promised, would permit the party to seek to end its isolation from the black community by returning to its "original vision" of serving the needs of the people and defending them against "oppressors" whether they took the form of police or "capitalist exploiters." Service to the people programs are "the most important thing in the Party," Newton declared. Without the people, he said, there was no way in which the party could make any revolution.

While the party had no intention of fielding electoral candidates, it would consider endorsing and working for candidates considered qualified by the party, Newton said. By promoting the interests of "the people" in many ways, he proclaimed:

We can truly [sic] become a political revolutionary vehicle which will lead the people to a higher level of consciousness, so that they will know what they must really do in their quest for freedom, and they will have the courage to adopt any means necessary to seize the time and obtain that freedom.

In keeping with the new tone of his oratory, Newton's pronouncements in the Panther paper were not designated as the words of the party's "supreme commander" but as the words of a humbler Newton: the "minister of defense" and "servant of the people."¹⁵⁰

NOTES

1. Anthony, op. cit.
2. One of the study kits was introduced in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 3, as exhibit 11. A study outline of the Indianapolis Black Panther chapter, introduced as exhibit 10 to the same hearings, required knowledge of past revolutions in Russia, China, Cuba, Algeria,

other African nations, the Philippines, and Indonesia.

3. People's World, Feb. 22, 1969.
4. The Black Panther, Apr. 20, 1969.
5. Interview printed in The Black Panther, May 31, 1969, p. 16.
6. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 8. Former Panthers reported to HCIS that Mao's advice was featured in political education classes for chapter members in Seattle, Kansas City, Indianapolis, and Philadelphia.
7. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 4.
8. See, for example, HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 1, and testimony regarding Kansas City Black Panther chapter, pt. 1.
9. A summary of Chinese communist statements beginning in 1963 and Cuban Government comments since 1967 appears in HCUA hearings on Subversive Influences in Riots, Looting, and Burning, 1967, pt. 1, exhibit 1.
10. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 3, exhibit 11.
11. See Chapter 1.
12. Anthony, op. cit.
13. Bobby Seale, interview in The Movement, March 1969, reprinted in The Black Panther, Mar. 3, 1969.
14. Earl Anthony parted with the Panthers over the new "class struggle" line, as did Frank B. Jones, managing editor of the party paper.
15. Film, "The Black Panther," op. cit.
16. The Black Panther, Mar. 3, 1969, p. 2.
17. Message to Republic of New Africa, Sept. 13, 1969, in The Black Panther, Dec. 6, 1969, pp. 10, 11.
18. Conversation with Eldridge Cleaver, Algiers, June, 1969.

19. The Black Panther, Nov. 8, 1969, p. 2.
20. The Black Panther, Jan. 17, 1970, p. 6.
21. New York Times Magazine, Nov. 1, 1970, p. 112.
22. See "The Black Panthers and Black Liberation," Political Affairs, theoretical journal of the Communist Party, U.S.A., September 1970, and HCIS report on SDS, op. cit.
23. Cleaver statements from The Black Panther, July 12, 1969, and Oct. 11, 1969, summarized in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 4.
24. Newton, speech at Boston College, Nov. 18, 1970, printed in The Black Panther, Jan. 23, 1971.
25. Seale in The Black Panther, May 4, 1969, and Hilliard in The Black Panther, Apr. 20, 1969.
26. The Black Panther, Apr. 20, 1969.
27. Cleaver in The Black Panther, Apr. 18, 1970. The same idea was expressed by Bobby Seale, in The Black Panther, Apr. 20, 1969, p. 12, and Jan. 10, 1970; and David Hilliard, The Black Panther, Nov. 8, 1969, and Nov. 22, 1969.
28. See The Black Panther, Feb. 17, 1969.
29. Newton in The Black Panther, Aug. 29, 1970, p. 13, and Jan. 23, 1971, supplement.
30. Newton interview, Guardian, Aug. 3, 1968, p. 9.
31. Conversation with Eldridge Cleaver, Algiers; and Seale, interview, The Movement, February-March, 1970.
32. See particularly, Newton press conference, Aug. 26, 1970, reported in The Black Panther, Sept. 5, 1970; statement to National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam, The Black Panther, Aug. 29, 1970; speech, Boston College, Nov. 18, 1970, op. cit.; speech, Nov. 28, 1970, Washington, D.C., in Washington Post, Nov. 30, 1970.

33. Boston College speech, Nov. 18, 1970.
34. Ibid. The one article which appeared in The Black Panther of June 6, 1970, from a so-called series by Cleaver on Panther "ideology" agreed that the "lump-enproletariat" had the greatest revolutionary potential in America. However, Cleaver went into a discussion of differences between America's "black colony" and the "mother country" in terms reminiscent of the party's earliest orientation.
- Newton's speech in November 1970, quoted above, held that the previous Panther idea that black Americans constituted either a "colony" or "nation" was erroneous. Critics who had insisted to Newton that black Americans were a "community" rather than a colony had some responsibility for reorientation of the party toward a goal of intercommunity relationships on a global basis, he said.
35. Newton, interview, Guardian, Aug. 3, 1968.
36. Seale, interview in The Movement, February-March, 1970, p. 15.
37. The Black Panther, July 19, 1969, p. 7.
38. Interview, summer 1969, with Stefen Aust, op. cit.
39. Conversation with Eldridge Cleaver, Algiers, June, 1969.
40. The Black Panther, June 28, 1969, p. 14.
41. The Black Panther, Aug. 16, 1969, p. 4.
- Chairman Seale told white radicals in an interview in the Guardian, Aug. 16, 1969, that the police decentralization plan of the Panthers was "revolutionary" despite its reliance on electoral processes. He explained that community-controlled police forces would eventually lead to "liberated zones" in America and police forces would become a "people's militia."
- A year later, Newton contradicted this position, stating the community service programs were intended for the survival of black Americans, and, by implication, the Panther Party as well, until the day when American society would be transformed totally by revolution. (Boston College speech, Nov. 18, 1970.)

42. Cleaver speech reproduced in The Black Panther, Oct. 25, 1969, pp. 12, 13.
43. Conversation with Eldridge Cleaver, Algiers, in June 1969, and Ramparts, September 1969, p. 35.
44. Interview in New York Times Magazine, Nov. 1, 1970.
45. "Eldridge on Weatherman," reprinted from the Berkeley Tribe in The Black Panther, Nov. 22, 1969, p. 5. See also HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, p. 5066.
46. The Black Panther, Oct. 25, 1969, pp. 12, 13.
47. New York Times Magazine, Nov. 1, 1970, p. 112.
48. Broadcast summary by FBI Director Hoover before House Appropriations Subcommittee, Mar. 5, 1970.
49. Washington Post, Dec. 4, 1969, pp. A 1 and 3, proceedings involving David Hilliard.
50. CBS News interview of Hilliard, Dec. 28, 1969, reported in Foner, op. cit., p. 132.
51. See p. 106 for further details on the POW proposal. The Black Panther of Nov. 22, 1969, pp. 10, 11, carried a copy of Hilliard's speech.
52. Guardian, Aug. 15, 1970, p. 3.
53. Newton, The Black Panther, Aug. 29, 1970, p. 13.
54. Ibid. The Chinese communists' description of a world revolution succeeding in "rural areas" (Latin America, Africa, and Asia) and gradually encircling the "cities" of the world (North America and Western Europe) was offered by Lin Piao, vice premier and defense minister, on Sept. 3, 1965, and reproduced in Peking Review, Aug. 4, 1967.
55. David Hilliard in The Black Panther, Feb. 17, 1970, p. 4.
56. Reproduced in The Black Panther, Jan. 16, 1971, pp. 10, 11.

57. Speech at plenary session of a Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention, Temple University, Philadelphia, cited in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4.
58. A New Haven, Conn., grand jury on Aug. 27, 1969, indicted Seale on first degree murder charges. He went on trial in September 1969 in Chicago on separate conspiracy to riot charges growing out of his participation with white radicals in demonstrations in Chicago at the time of the Democratic National Convention in 1968.
59. HCIS report, Anatomy of a Revolutionary Movement: Students for a Democratic Society; HCIS hearings on Black Panther Party, pt. 3, p. 4456.
60. Garry in Foner, op. cit.
61. Statements by Black Panther leaders denouncing Israel as a Zionist, Fascist state and expressions of mutual support by Panther and Al Fatah leaders may be found in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 4.
62. Conversation with Eldridge Cleaver, Algiers. Lockwood reported that Cuban efforts to discourage increasing arrivals of hijacked airplanes contributed to withdrawal of asylum for Cleaver once his presence was publicized.
63. The Black Panther, Jan. 17, 1970, p. 6.
64. The quotation appeared in a box in the Panther paper, Jan. 31, 1970, p. 7. The concept was also discussed by Cleaver in The Black Panther, Mar. 15, 1970, and Apr. 11, 1970; and Judi Douglas, The Black Panther, Jan. 24, 1970.

Cleaver explained in the party paper on June 6, 1970, that "Around the world and in every nation people, all who call themselves Marxist-Leninists, are at each other's throats. Such a situation presents serious problems to a young party, such as ours, that is still in the process of refining its ideology."
65. The Black Panther, May 9, 1970.
66. North Korean international broadcast in English, Sept. 23, 1970, and Red Chinese international broadcasts

in English, Sept. 18 and 23, 1970.

67. Daily World, Oct. 3, 1969, p. 3, and The Black Panther, Jan. 24, 1970, pp. 10, 11.
68. North Korean radio broadcast, in English, July 10, 1970.
69. Guardian, Aug. 29, 1970. The Jan. 30, 1971, issue of The Black Panther reprinted an article from the Pyongyang Times in North Korea avowing that the Korean "people" supported the Black Panthers and demanding an end to the U.S. "Fascist suppression" of the militants.
70. Information on Cleaver's Asian travels appeared in the New York Times, Sept. 4, 1970, and in his interview in the New York Times Magazine, Nov. 1, 1970.
71. New York Times interview of Nov. 1, 1970. The interviewer reported that the Panther Party was one of about a dozen "liberation" movements accredited by the Algerian Government and given some assistance and support in their tasks of overthrowing governments in power in their respective countries.
72. HCIS hearings on SDS, 1969, p. 7-A.
73. Davis and Dellinger had leading roles in the planning of demonstrations in Chicago in August 1968 under the auspices of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Both were convicted on Feb. 18, 1970, of violating a Federal antiriot law and received sentences of 5 years in prison and a \$5,000 fine. They were later acquitted on appeal.
74. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 3, particularly exhibit 7.
The Black Panther project regarding POWs was discussed by HCIS Chairman Ichord on the House floor, Congressional Record, Oct. 31, 1969, p. H 10415; in The Black Panther, Nov. 1, 1969, Nov. 15, 1969, and Nov. 22, 1969; and by Seale, Seize the Time, *op. cit.*
75. Newton in The Black Panther, Aug. 29, 1970, p. 13.
76. See Chief of Staff Hilliard's statement to an antiwar rally Nov. 15, 1969, which included a threat to President Nixon for which he is awaiting trial, p. 102. In

mid-November, 1969, Seale had been sentenced to four years in prison for contempt of court and awaited trial in Connecticut on first degree murder charges.

77. The Black Panther, Mar. 7, 1970, pp. 10, 11.
78. The Black Panther, Mar. 21, 1970, p. 4.
79. New York Times Magazine, Nov. 1, 1970, pp. 31, 112.
80. Providence, R.I., Journal, Apr. 15, 1970.
81. Howard in The Black Panther, Mar. 21, 1970, p. 3 and Feb. 28, 1970, p. 11; Elaine Brown, head of information for the BPP southern California chapter, The Black Panther, Apr. 25, 1970; Douglas' book announcement, The Black Panther, Oct. 24, 1970, p. 17.
82. The Black Panther, June 20, 1969, pp. 11-13.
83. Washington Post and Washington Star, Sept. 6, 1970.
84. The shootout was described in the press and also by FBI Director Hoover in an appearance before a House Appropriations Subcommittee, Nov. 19, 1970.
85. The Black Panther, Aug. 21, 1970, pp. 12, 13, and Guardian, Aug. 29, 1970, p. 4.
86. Liberation News Service, No. 283, Aug. 26, 1970, pp. 6-10.
87. Ibid. and Boston College speech, op. cit. Newton repeatedly maintained that genocide was a program of "ruling circles" in America directed at all black Americans, and limitation of Panther activity was repression of the entire minority group.
88. William C. Sullivan, speech of Oct. 12, 1970, Williamsburg, Va., reproduced in part in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 21.
89. Statistics are based on statements by FBI Director Hoover to House Appropriations Subcommittee, Nov. 19, 1970, and in a yearend release, Jan. 6, 1971; and a compilation by HCIS staff of police deaths and injuries at the hands of Black Panthers from the

inception of the party through September 1970.
(HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 3.)

90. Ibid.
91. A private research project into the circumstances under which a total of ten Black Panthers died in the course of police confrontations showed five of the fatalities occurred in 1968 and five in 1969. (Edward Jay Epstein, New Yorker, op. cit.)
92. Testimony at trial in May 1970 which led to second-degree murder conviction for one of the young men, identified as a Panther. (Long Beach Press-Telegram, May 24, 1970.)
93. HCIS investigative information; Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, hearings, op. cit., pt. 25, exhibit 827; Los Angeles Times, Sept. 9, 1969, Sept. 30, 1969, May 5, 1970; The Black Panther, Nov. 1, 1969, Feb. 21, 1970.
94. Epstein, op. cit. The wounded Panther was subsequently convicted on two counts of assault with intent to commit murder.
95. FBI Director Hoover, testimony before House Appropriations Subcommittee, Mar. 5, 1970, and HCIS staff study, hearings on BPP, pt. 1, exhibit 5.
96. Testimony, Charles O'Brien, chief deputy attorney general, State of California, Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, hearings on Riots, Civil and Criminal Disorders, pt. 25, July 22, 1970, and exhibit 827 in pt. 25, July 1970.
97. Epstein, op. cit. Confrontations in Chicago in 1969 were also summarized in Report of the January 1970 Grand Jury, United States District Court, Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, released May 15, 1970. The grand jury was empaneled to investigate a confrontation of Dec. 4, 1969.
98. New York Times, Aug. 1, 1969.
99. New York Times, Oct. 5, 1969; Panther statement in Workers World, Oct. 6, 1969; Guardian, Oct. 11,

1969 and The Black Panther, Feb. 21, 1970. Attempted murder charges were dropped against six of the seven but resisting arrest charges remained (Chicago Sun Times, Nov. 11, 1969).

100. Epstein, op. cit., and Washington Post, Nov. 14, 1969. The wounded Panther was indicted for murder in a case that is still pending.
101. Report of the January 1970 Grand Jury..., op. cit.
102. The Washington Post, June 20, 1970, p. A-3; Guardian, July 4, 1970, p. 2; Chicago Tribune, Sept. 16, 1970, sec. 2, p. 9; The Black Panther, Mar. 20, 1971, p. 4.
103. Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee hearings, op. cit., pt. 25, exhibit 827, and Washington Post, Jan. 16, 1971.
When "Panther"-police confrontations occurred in Baltimore, Toledo, Detroit, and New Orleans, the local Black Panther Party affiliate at the time was technically operating under the name, "National Committee to Combat Fascism." (See The Black Panther, May 9, 1970, Oct. 3, 1970, Nov. 28, 1970, and Dec. 5, 1970.)
104. William C. Sullivan, Assistant to FBI Director, statements quoted in HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 21.
105. Former FBI Director Hoover, testimony, House Appropriations Subcommittee, Nov. 19, 1970. In a subsequent prosecution resulting from this incident, a jury on June 30, 1971, found twelve Black Panthers innocent of charges of first degree murder, conspiracy to murder and assault with intent to murder, but found three of them guilty of felonious assault. (Washington Post, July 1, 1971.)
106. Washington Post, Oct. 26, 1970, and testimony, Donald Berry, HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 3.
107. Sullivan, op. cit., and Washington Post, Sept. 16 and 19, 1970.
108. Hoover, op. cit., and Washington Post, Dec. 16, 1970,

of first degree murder in the slaying of a suspected police informant. On Feb. 1, 1971, he was sentenced to life imprisonment. (Washington Post, Feb. 2, 1971.)

109. Lists in The Black Panther, Feb. 21, 1970, and individual cases reported in subsequent issues.
110. Hoover, House Appropriations Subcommittee, March 5, 1970. The Federal grand jury investigating the Dec. 4, 1969, police raid on a Panther residence in Chicago included as background in its report the fact that sixteen local Panther officers or members were under indictment since June 10, 1969, on torture and kidnapping charges for an alleged beating and torture of a black man and woman in April, 1969.
111. Washington Post, Jan. 10, 1970.
112. Epstein, op. cit.
113. Epstein, op. cit. See also report by Federal grand jury, op. cit.
114. Epstein, op. cit.
115. Report of the January, 1970 Grand Jury... op. cit., p. 12.
116. References to various violent confrontations between Panthers and police in the preceding sections of this book cited information from officials of Federal agencies such as the FBI and from the press.
117. HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 3, exhibit 9.
118. Conversation with Eldridge Cleaver, Algiers, a June 1969 interview.
119. Proceedings of convention sessions in Philadelphia, Sept. 6, 1970, in Guardian, Sept. 19, 1970.
120. The Black Panther, June 20, 1970, pp. 12, 13.
121. Description of proceedings appear in The Black Panther, Sept. 12, 1970, Sept. 19, 1970; HCIS hearings on BPP, pt. 4, exhibit 23; The Philadelphia Inquirer,

Sept. 6, 1970; and Washington Star, Sept. 6, 1970.

122. The Young Lords Organization, a Chicago-based group of Puerto Rican youth, agreed to ally with and follow the BPP as a "vanguard revolutionary organization," according to an interview with the YLO chairman in The Black Panther, June 7, 1969. The BPP, YLO, and the white youth group in Chicago--the Young Patriots--were sometimes referred to as the "Rainbow Coalition."

In May 1970, the New York State chapter of YLO split away from the Chicago group as a result of organizational and "political" differences and formed a separate Young Lords Party, with headquarters in New York City and chapters soon operating in Philadelphia and other places. The YLO continued to work closely with the BPP, proclaiming the latter to be the "head" of black people who in turn would one day lead a revolution in the United States. (The Black Panther, Mar. 6, 1971, statement by YLO Central Committee.)

FBI Director Hoover characterized the Youth Against War and Fascism as the youth group of the "communist splinter group," the Workers World Party. He noted that the Yippies (Youth International Party) were among those involved in activities aimed at disrupting the August, 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. (Testimony before House Appropriations Subcommittee, Feb. 16, 1967, and April 17, 1969.)

123. Newton, "A Letter from Huey to the Revolutionary Brothers and Sisters about the Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation Movements," The Black Panther, Aug. 21, 1970, p. 5.
124. Guardian, Sept. 19, 1970, pp. 1, 3.
125. See p. 97 for Newton on "intercommunalism." The Washington, D.C., sessions of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention were reported in The Black Panther, Dec. 5, 1970, pp. 8-11, and in The Washington Post, Nov. 28, 29, and 30, 1970, and Washington Star, Nov. 29 and 30, 1970.
126. J. Edgar Hoover, year-end report in the form of an FBI press release, Jan. 6, 1971.
127. The Black Panther, Mar. 27, 1971.

128. The Black Panther, Jan. 23, 1971, and Mar. 6, 1971. The Seale-Huggins trial ended in a hung jury on May 24, 1971. See chapter 2, footnote 71, for further details.
129. The Black Panther, Feb. 27, 1971, p. 9. However, the paper did not link guerrilla attacks to the Black Panther Party.
130. The Black Panther, Jan. 16, 1971, and Workers World, Jan. 15, 1971.
131. The Black Panther, Dec. 20, 1969; Los Angeles Herald Examiner, July 10, 1969; Guardian, Dec. 26, 1970; Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, hearings, op. cit., pt. 19, June 1969.
132. New York Times, Feb. 10 and 14, 1971, and Time magazine, Feb. 22, 1971.
133. The New York Panthers' Open Letter was also printed in the Liberated Guardian, New York, Feb. 25, 1971.
134. The Liberated Guardian in New York alleged that on Dec. 11, 1970, it received a communique from the Weather Underground, as the SDS faction was also known. Printed in that publication on Jan. 4, 1971, the communique was attributed to the well-known SDS underground leader, Bernardine Dohrn.

The difficulties in ascertaining the authenticity of such messages from the "underground" are illustrated by this alleged Weather Underground communique. It disavowed two recently publicized statements attributed respectively to Weather Underground and Bernardine Dohrn.
135. See, for example, The Black Panther, Jan. 23, 1971, and Feb. 20, 1971.
136. The contents of a video tape from Algeria, released on Mar. 11, 1971, were described in The Militant, Apr. 2, 1971.
137. The central committee also announced, without explanation, the expulsion from the party of two female members of the New Haven branch.

138. The Militant, op. cit. On May 13, 1971, a jury acquitted all the 13 defendants from the New York Panther chapter, including the fugitives Tabor and Moore. On May 12, 1971, the New York Times had printed the text of a letter the newspaper stated was written in Algeria by fugitive Richard Moore. On June 5, 1971, the New York City police commissioner announced that Moore was one of four men arrested earlier that day following a holdup in the Bronx.
139. The Militant, op. cit., and Washington Post, Feb. 27, 1971.
140. Associated Press interview reported in the Washington Star, Mar. 5, 1971. The charges against Cleaver appeared in an article by an officer of the southern California Panther chapter in The Black Panther, Mar. 6, 1971.
141. A New York Panther chapter announcement of Mar. 1, 1971, reported in The Militant, Apr. 2, 1971.
142. Report in The Militant, op. cit. The same criticism was voiced by Kathleen Cleaver in an interview with a staff correspondent for the Guardian, printed in that publication on Apr. 17, 1971, p. 3.
Mrs. Cleaver was angry at the cowardly action of Chief of Staff Hilliard which changed the party's primary orientation from "organizing violence against the pigs" to "concentrating on legal action and defending people in court." Indicating that it was time to force jails to free their prisoners, Mrs. Cleaver said:
"We are through with legal action.... What is necessary now is a party to advance and expedite the armed struggle."
143. New York Times, Apr. 10, 1970, p. 24C.
144. Guardian, Mar. 13, 1971, p. 4.
145. Washington Post, Mar. 10, 1971, and The Militant, op. cit. The body of Samuel Napier, circulation manager of the Panther paper, working out of San Francisco, was found in the basement of the Panther office in Corona, Queens, N.Y., on Apr. 17, 1971. He had been bound and gagged and shot six times. Napier had traveled east to seek continued circulation of the

paper in an area hostile to Oakland headquarters.
(New York Times and Washington Post, Apr. 19, 1971.)

146. The Militant, *op. cit.* The Algerian group had already opened a U.S. headquarters in the Bronx, N.Y., and a clandestine central committee was in the process of formation, according to the Kathleen Cleaver interview.
147. The Black Panther, Apr. 3, 1971, p. 2, and Washington Post, Apr. 8, 1971.
148. Speech at Center for Urban-Black Theological Studies, May 19, 1971, in Washington Post and Washington Star, May 21, 1971.
149. Newton's most comprehensive review of past party policy and Cleaver's effect on the organization appeared in The Black Panther, Apr. 17, 1971, supplement.
150. Ibid. A United Press International account of Newton's May 19 speech at the theological seminary quoted a promise by the Panther chief to "operate within the system so we can change it" and to work or change through churches as well as other community institutions.

Chapter 6

THE PANTHERS FADE AWAY

In times of revolution, just wars and wars of liberation, I love the angels of destruction and disorder as opposed to the devils of conservation and law-and-order. (Eldridge Cleaver, reprinted from the Berkeley Tribe in The Black Panther, November 22, 1969, p. 5).

The Black Panther Party, in a sense, is a product of our times. Born in the flames of urban rioting in 1966, the organization of black youth first saw its mission as the creation of an autonomous black America through the threat of violence, if not actual violence. A revision in Panther objectives in 1969 followed alliances with increasingly militant white radical youth. Armed struggle, described as a guerilla or "people's war," must "liberate" the whole of American society from "capitalism," "imperialism," and "racism," according to the new party line. Panther leaders never offered a blueprint for a new American social system. How life would be different in a Panther utopia--after proposed equal distribution of the world's wealth--was apparently a question that could be resolved after the destruction of the existing power structure.

The Panther leaders emphasized the making of revolution. And they talked as though they expected to play a leading, if not the leading, role in mobilizing masses of Americans behind the banner of revolution. By the close of the decade, the tide of rebellion in inner cities and on the campuses appeared to be on the wane, and armed Panthers were drawing jail terms instead of masses of supporters.

The Black Panthers maintained at least a surface unity until early 1971, when they began splitting up over differences which included the question of tactics. A faction

within the Panthers, led by minister-in-exile, Eldridge Cleaver, called for party emphasis on underground terrorist-type activity, while the bulk of the party under Newton and Hilliard's leadership appeared to be preoccupied with "legal" forms of activity such as spoken and printed propaganda, rallies and conventions, legal defense campaigns, and community service programs. Cleaver charged that the party departed from its original military-political stance--when the issue was "just Panthers, pigs and guns"--after the prosecution and jailing of Panthers "fragmented" the leadership.¹ Criticism of the domestic leadership for utilizing "legal" activity in an effort to stay out of jail and for refusing to authorize creation of an illegal "underground" party apparatus in the United States came from an officer who himself chose a comfortable life in exile rather than either jail or an underground existence.

The legal difficulties which piled up for the Panthers and led to their debates over the options remaining open to them in 1971 were the logical outcome of Newton's attempt to organize unemployed black street youths into a paramilitary organization acting as a vanguard for a revolution. Violence was no stranger to the youths, even before they answered the Oakland Panthers' call for revolutionaries willing to organize to change the existing system, if necessary, by violence.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF ACTS OF VIOLENCE

The public arming of these youths guaranteed attention from both law enforcement authorities and the communications media. A former Panther had described the gun as the key to the growth of Panthers in early years when urban unrest was at its peak. But the gun was also the "Achilles heel" of the Panthers.² Many of the street youths used the gun, and the degree to which members of the nation's police forces were victims has been chronicled elsewhere in this book.

It is difficult to say to what degree acts of violence represented the Panthers' effort to further a "revolution" against the power structure, as distinguished from a psychological penchant for criminal activity. Many youths joining the Panther Party had a history of criminal offenses, including assault. While national Panther officers clearly fancied themselves as generals preparing for an armed struggle for political power, it appears that many rank-and-file members in local chapters did not view their Panther activity as any great departure from their normal activities.

No information is available that would indicate that acts of violence by members of the Black Panther Party signified the opening shots in a revolution aimed at immediate overthrow of the U.S. Government. The top Panther leadership generally represented violent revolution as a future event, to be preceded by the education and mobilization of large numbers of other Americans in support of their cause. Not to be ignored, however, is the concurrent rhetoric of some of the Panther officers who advocated that the "education" of Americans include terroristic acts of violence against representatives of authority, particularly police officers.

It is not easy to assess the full effects of the continuous endorsement of the physical extermination of police officers and, occasionally, government and community leaders, appearing in the articles and cartoons in the party's official weekly newspaper. They were certainly a malevolent influence in a modern America that witnessed a rising incidence of terroristic acts, including snipings, bombings, and thefts, for "political" purposes.

The Panthers likened the party's approach to that of a bank robber. According to a story related by Cleaver, Newton considered creation of his armed political group to be "like walking up to the White House and saying, 'Stick 'em up, mother fucker. We want what's ours.'"³

The epitome of Panther arrogance was undoubtedly the party's elevation of Newton in 1970 to an authority on revolution comparable to Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung, deified by his own party. The Panther leadership described the party as "Marxist-Leninist" and in 1970 portrayed Newton as a pace-setter in revolutionary theory as a result of his ostensibly expert use of Marxist-Leninist methods. Newton's talk about a worldwide "intercommunal" system only served to alienate members of his own party, however. His claim that the American revolution would wait upon successful revolutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America was nothing more than a reflection of the Chinese communist world view.

When Panther propaganda attacked the United States Government as "Fascist" and "imperialist," and responsible for the suppression of freedom at home and abroad, it was hardly distinguishable from the vilification of the United States which was broadcast regularly by communist regimes in China, North Korea, and North Vietnam.

Statements of sympathy and solidarity for the Panthers from the three Asian communist nations may have fed the ego of the party leadership, but they were apparently no asset to the organization in its bid for mass support from black Americans.

Many adults in predominantly black inner cities considered the Panthers to be young hoodlums, posturing for the communications media and exploiting the community they professed to serve. More militant Panther chapters introduced new problems rather than solutions to the many difficulties facing residents of the black communities of America.

It is true that the level of militance varied from chapter to chapter. The commitment of the Panther national leadership to organizing support for armed conflict in the United States at a future date was widely, but not universally, shared by chapter officers and to a lesser extent by the rank-and-file membership. There were also local affiliates which pursued a nonbelligerent program, apparently demonstrating the effect of the recruitment of individuals drawn by the party's promises in its platform to try to improve conditions for black citizens. Former officers of chapters in Kansas City, Detroit, and Philadelphia, for example, tried to implement the party platform by working on housing, narcotics, and other inner city problems. The party's own service projects, such as free breakfasts for schoolchildren, nevertheless foundered at times when they had to depend solely on the efforts of the party membership. Chapters generally included street youth who were primarily attracted by the image of a Panther, gun in hand, fearlessly confronting police authorities.

The Black Panthers were unable to attain a mass membership base. Sympathy or respect voiced by some supporters was based on such reasons as: the organization served to publicize inner city problems; in instances, it stimulated remedial community action; and police overreacted to the threat posed by the group. Fear and rejection were more common responses to the Black Panther Party among inner city residents. Many blacks felt that the Black Panthers had not made substantial gains in solving problems. They abhorred the acquisition of arms and threats of violence that occasionally led to outbreaks of violence and they rejected the recruitment of impressionable black youngsters as permanent outlaws in American society. Without mass support, the Black Panther Party had no future but to fade away.

The Panthers had faded because they were really not much more than a media event. If they had not carried guns, worn black berets, uttered inflammatory rhetoric, suffered a few unfortunate shootouts with police, and above all, if they had not been covered on TV, they would have gone virtually unnoticed. But they were blessed with a theatrical sixth sense that enabled them to gain an audience and project an image. (The image frightened America) When one considers that there were at most 1,500 to 2,000 Black Panthers, certainly no imminent possibility of revolution existed. It is perhaps a sign of our time that great changes can occur in writing and on film but almost nothing happens in the ordinary lives of the people. The Black Panthers proved an electronic drama, an expression of the romantic vein in American life. But when the shout of "Off the Pigs!" had died, the Panther leaders were in exile or jail or had been kicked out of the organization or simply left, and the membership had dwindled to a tiny hard core. The show was over and Americans throughout the living rooms of the country sat back on their recliners ready for the next movie.

NOTES

1. "Panther Party Split Deepens," Guardian, March 13, 1971, p. 4.
2. Anthony, op. cit.
3. Eldridge Cleaver, speech delivered in November, 1968 and printed in Ramparts, vol. 7, no. 9, December, 1968.

V

LITERATURE OF THE BLACK PANTHERS

1. VANGUARD OF THE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE

(Huey Newton)

Capital Punishment as Class Punishment

The Black Panther Party plans to send an open letter to the U.S. Supreme Court. The gist of the first of the letter would be that first of all, we realize that capital punishment is reserved for poor people and people of color. We can easily see this when we examine death row. We see that only poor Whites and Blacks, and Mexicans and other colored people, reach death row. So it is strictly a class thing, and it is high time that someone intervenes between the mad man and the people. We view the judicial system as not only a corrupt institution that is there to preserve the status and power of the bourgeoisie but also as a group of treacherous murderers. We will serve notice upon the Supreme Court that something must be done. The death penalty must be outlawed or else there will be a political consequence. We will intensify the struggle and we will stop this slaughter.

Sending Troops to the NLF

We have committed an undisclosed number of troops to the revolutionary People's Republic of Vietnam, to the National Liberation Front provisional government in the south. We offer these troops in the spirit of revolutionary solidarity, and we are waiting a response. There has been some indication that the response will be favorable.

The Vietnamese people and the people of the world in general are very impressed. We feel justified in committing these troops, even though we realize that we have many problems here, domestic problems. But we feel that because the oppressor also has domestic problems, and he still finds time to meddle in other peoples' business, slaughtering people throughout the world, certainly we can find time to aid our friends.

Against Charges of Treason

My understanding of treason is that a patriot aids the enemy under a condition of a declared war. We view the Vietnamese people, and certainly the American people view the Vietnamese people, not as enemies but as friends. This has been demonstrated through the many peace mobilizations. Also, America has a history of committing troops or American citizens fighting in foreign armies. Americans fought in the Spanish Civil War against fascist Franco. There are Americans fighting in Israel; there were Americans committed to the Canadian army in World War II. Only at that time the ruling circle found it not to be in their interest to prosecute or charge these men with treason. Working from this we say that it does not fall under treason because there is no declared war.

The war is illegal. If they want to charge us with treason, we invite them to do so because in order to prove treason we will first have to put the war on trial to see if the war is a legal war. And we will be very happy to do that. We are willing to make any revolutionary sacrifice necessary in order to advance the interests of the people of the world.

We could not worry about a simple thing like losing citizenship, because the brothers that go there might lose their lives. Our purpose is to see that the fascist imperialist is whipped and driven back to his own country, and we have friends who can hear the imperialist's whip crack. We view the developing countries of the world as the countryside of the world. As one developing country becomes free it advances the freedom of all of us, because until we choke the imperialist's raw materials which he gets from the developing countries which he rapes and robs, there will be no chance of liberation at home.

In other words, we see a definite connection between our enslavement and our exploitation and the exploitation of the Vietnamese people and the people of Cambodia, Thailand, Latin America and Africa. So we intend to not only send troops to Vietnam but we are willing to go anywhere in the world where we have comrades.

Revolutionary Internationalists

I am overwhelmed with joy that I am able to see the unity that is existing among the people that are oppressed, not only nationally but internationally. We feel that in order for us here in America to eliminate the evils of the world we must eliminate imperialism and an international bourgeoisie that finds its strength here in Babylon or North America. In order to do this, the Black Panther Party takes a stand that our party is no longer a revolutionary nationalist party but we are revolutionary internationalists. We are international socialists because we are fighting an international bourgeoisie, so naturally our tactics and strategies will have to be based on internationalism. That doesn't mean that we reject or denounce other countries that are fighting wars of national liberation. Countries such as Vietnam we feel have a right for self-determination and independence, because they have never oppressed other countries. They do not operate an Empire--they operate a country, while America is no longer a country but is an Empire. So therefore we cannot even speak in terms of nationalism because nationalism perpetrated in this country has enslaved the world. This country has no right any longer to be a nationalist country, because it has stolen the wealth from every developing country in the world in order to build a higher standard of living here--for the ruling circle, that is. Because of these evils this country must think in terms of transforming the world and replenishing the world, sharing with the developing countries in a friendship way and even being obligated to them. Obligated to them in the sense that this country has been a pirate and a robber, and now it is only justified that this country pays off. This is why the Black Panther Party is hooked up with every liberation struggle in the world, because only through this unity are we able to defeat such a powerful, treacherous enemy.

Racism and a Socialist Framework

As far as this country is concerned the struggle cannot even take a national character because what you have is not a nation, it is an Empire. That's why we can't relate to it as something that it is not. As far as racism is concerned, we realize that racism is rampant in this country. This is why in spite of the fact that we are working toward a socialist society we are not under the illusion that this

will automatically wipe out racism.

It is known in sociology that when a physical structure changes or a social structure changes, usually there is a lag of the attitude or the values, called a cultural lag. I'm sure that this concept will also be true when we receive our socialist victory. We'll lay the foundation or structure to change the attitudes, but until that time, we will have to use certain precautions in order to protect ourselves from racism.

Some of the ways we will work is to ask for autonomy in our communities, complete control, as a matter of fact, of our local community, the institutions therein. We would like to operate our institutions as collectives or co-ops if you will, owned by the whole community and supported by the national enterprises that will be centralized but will be a public institution. For instance, General Motors, Standard Oil and the big monopolies, the 76 companies that control the American economy, according to a report by the Johnson Commission on Civil Disorders. There are 76 monopolies or oligarchies that control the country. These we will demand that on every level people of color be represented. But the various communities will place these administrators in, just as now elections are held to place mayors in and so forth.

There will be no profit any longer. It will only be a surplus. The surplus from these national enterprises will be distributed in some kind of equal way to the many ethnic minority communities. All of the communities will receive a portion of the wealth, so we call this proportional representation in a socialist framework. If there happens to be any Whites living in the community or any Mexicans or Indians or any ethnic member who would be a minority living in any of the other ethnic communities, then he will have a democratic participation in these institutions. In other words, we will make sure that a foundation will be laid to work toward a society that will be essentially human, a culture that will be essentially human and a revolutionary culture that is dynamic and that is in constant change with the well-being of man in mind.

Integrating Reform and Revolution

I believe that reform must be integrated with

revolution. Reforms are alright. Reforms are good as long as they don't put up an obstacle to your final revolutionary goal. Many times reform aids the revolutionary vanguard to mobilize the people against the oppressor. In Berkeley the Black Panther Party with members of the Peace and Freedom Party have worked to have the police decentralized. We are on the ballot now. I believe it took somewhat in the range of 15,000 signatures to get on the ballot, and we made that with ease. I would ask the community to support this. I would like to ask all progressive people to support the decentralization of the police in Berkeley.

The police would be decentralized into three police departments: one for students, one for Blacks, and one for Whites. The local community would elect a board to control the police behavior and to examine complaints from the community about the police. This way the police would lose their character that is like a foreign army occupying a territory. They don't believe in the territory, but they are only there to insure the interests of the wealthy or the property people in the area.

We feel that this is a step in the right direction. It certainly is a necessary step but it is not sufficient. And we realize it for what it is, a step in the right direction because the final victory will come when we are able to decentralize the wealth of such institutions as the Bank of America and General Motors, then make the wealth serve the interests of the people and not serve the interests of the profit monger. This will be the final victory of the people, but we must fight each battle at a time. While the police are only the agents and the lackies of the bourgeoisie and the big owners, we realize that in order for us to fight these big owners we must fight the ordinary local police, which is the local foot soldier, just as the Vietnamese in order to fight America's imperialism must fight the ordinary soldier who is only a lacky for the bourgeoisie and the ruling circle here in America. Also, that's how students end up fighting the ordinary teacher who supports the reactionary designs of the reactionary regents and the running dog governor Reagan. In order to down Reagan, much of the time we have to have conflicts with their ordinary protectors, whether they are teachers, local police or the military. We have to deal with that. But we know the final victory and the real meaningful victory will be to decentralize the wealth of the rich oppressors.

Reform and revolution can go hand in hand as long as your reform does not put an obstacle in the way of your final goal. There are many reforms that I can think of that if handled in the wrong way would make it impossible, or very difficult, for you to achieve your revolutionary goals. We must make very sure that our reforms are well thought out and that we explain to the people on the way the significance and also the dangers of accepting certain compromises from the oppressor. As long as we don't try to drop a plan on the people's head and as long as we take their interests into consideration and give them time, even though much of the time they don't claim to be theoreticians or politicians or scholars, they don't understand. Sometimes we have to take much time--some revolutionaries take too much time--to explain to the people. But the Black Panther Party has found that after taking this time it pays off, because we move even faster than we would had we attempted just to conclude or make conclusions for the people and go ahead without their support or without help.

The Party and Shoes for the People

Our party is a vanguard party, but its strength is based upon mass support and we work directly with the people in many of our programs.

We're starting a shoe program where we will make shoes. While I was in prison I found that many inmates and many convicts became very expert in making shoes and boots. These shoes are used to shoe the prison population and also are sold to other government agencies. Of course the prisoners only get two cents an hour for this. But the point I am trying to make is that many people here in the community in the North, and in the South, the children go without shoes. In Buford County there is a tremendous problem of parasites. As soon as the parasites are driven out of the people's stomach and they are cured, because they don't have shoes, they pick up parasites again. So we plan to buy, with the help of the people, to lease or buy an old shoe factory and put ex-convicts into these factories, and the convicts will teach the people of the community how to make the shoes. A work shoe can be made for about \$1.50 or \$2. We plan to not only repair but to make shoes and to shoe the children and the adults of the community and in the South.

The party is a vanguard party. We don't expect

millions of people to be in membership. But it is not a club or anything like that. We have millions of people in it because we are working for the people's interests, and everyone that sympathizes or supports or does anything we view him as a member. He is certainly a member of the oppressed class and therefore necessarily the backbone of the revolution.

I think that this is almost a classical thing, if we observe other revolutions in other countries. In every case most of the people in the country would not be a member in the sense of holding office in the revolutionary band. But the revolutionary band was so dependent on the people until they would say that they should not be tried by the regular army because when they were with the people they were like a fish in the sea. And we must be like that. The community must support us to the point when we are being pursued they will give us aid without asking too many questions, because much of the time there is no time for such questions.

The End of Nations

The Black Panther Party takes the position that we must accept the reality in this country, and that is that this country is a pluralistic country ethnically speaking and culturally speaking. First we must recognize as a fact that there are many cultures here representing many national minorities. Taking this under consideration we will see that each ethnic minority has particular problems that have to be solved in a rather unique way. So this is why we say that in order to lay the foundations or to get a base to solve these problems first, we have to transform society and wipe out the small ruling circle that is not interested in any of the people, only in their profits. After this transformation--which will necessarily be a socialist society--we would like all of the ethnic minorities to be represented. Before the victory we say that we must have many coalitions with all of the groups, such as the Third World liberation front that is now supporting the six in San Francisco, Los Siete de las Raza, who are on trial now on trumped-up charges of killing a police officer. We of the Black Panther Party support them. We have attempted to show our friendship and concern by supporting all people, no matter what their color or ethnic background, who are fighting against this common enemy, because in the end we allow that culture is a thing that should enhance and make men feel free and also give him the power to create and produce in a creative way.

Based on these two criteria, we would like to see eventually an essentially human culture. As a matter of fact, after this imperialistic country's regime is ended, we can even take into consideration the withering away of statehood, period. There won't be any need of other countries to be nations because they won't be threatened by this country. And there will be just people joined together in friendship and harmony, and this is the kind of society we're working for, where man will no longer be exploited by man, and love will exist among all the people.

The End of Privilege and Class

I think that it is absurd to say that you are a socialist and you are also a racist, because the socialist is interested in man and man is a homo sapien or of the same species, and that once we start making a division of race, then that lets the tide in to make divisions of any other class breakdown. So we want to see an end of the class system and all of the distinctions that would make one group privileged over another. That does not necessarily mean that we want an end to ethnic groups. We think that there is a matter of beauty in the many ethnic cultures, rather like a bouquet. I think that if it is viewed this way, the world will be a much happier place and a more interesting place.

There will be a coming together and a unity of man. Like the Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver said, you will have the essential miscegenation. When our Minister of Information says this, he is not speaking entirely of race miscegenation, but he was speaking of that complex whole where man finally reaches a unity with himself and with every other living thing within the universe. And this will be the mingling and the transformation of everything from the prisoner that he is within himself, from the division and the loneliness to a whole person and to what man can really be.

This is why we hate the oppressor so much, because when he strikes us, he strikes down the best that humanity produces. When the brothers were killed in Marin, humanity was struck a blow, because these were true revolutionaries interested in the people's struggle. Yet they were taken away from us. The young Jonathan Jackson, I view him as a brother who should have been and probably would have been my successor. But he was taken away from us, and we are very unhappy about that. But the people will produce more

leaders, and they will be stronger because they will inherit the legacy of Jonathan Jackson, the revolutionary fervor of William Christmas and the courage of McLain.

Twilight Zone of the White Drop-Outs

I think that many of the young people who have "dropped out" are going through a transitional period. Most of them are upper middle class Whites, a few Blacks, students, so forth. These people are offsprings of the bourgeoisie, members of that class we are fighting against. I think that it is a fair statement to say that the so-called dropouts have done a necessary thing, the first step, because they are what I call traitors to the bourgeoisie. They have left the fold of that corrupt ruling circle. They have repudiated the goals of that circle and now they are attempting-- groping--for a place. They are outside of the people's movement, but at the same time they are in the twilight zone because they are also outside of the ruling circle. We find that the Movement in general finds a fertile field in recruiting from this area, because after they drop out, then they come back in, but this time they come in with a new direction. This time they come in clean because they have denounced everything that their fathers have supported and supported everything he has denounced. So it is sort of a cleansing process.

At this time many of the left groups are joining in to a larger vanguard that is known as the New World Liberation Front. The Black Panther Party has joined this liberation group as a caucus inside of the liberation group. Many of the Third World Liberation groups are joining in, and the White leftists are joining in. So now we are coming up with a synthesis of all the revolutionary groups. It's going to be welded into a very sharp cutting instrument in order to advance the people's cause.

Women's Liberation & Gay Liberation

They definitely have a place in the revolutionary movement. Some of the Women's Liberation Front groups are politically conscious. We would like to unite with them.

We would also like to have unity with the homosexual groups who are also politically conscious. We've had

meetings with representatives of the homosexual groups and also the Women's Liberation Front. Now the homosexual groups have been oppressed so much and so badly till it was hard to convince them that the Black Panther Party is relating to them. But we see that homosexuals are human beings, and they're oppressed as human beings because of the bourgeois mentality and the bourgeois treachery that exists in this country that tries to legislate sexual activity. Most of the laws are laws not to promote freedom, which I believe is one of the most essential things that man universally strives after, whether it be internal freedom or external freedom. In other words, freedom from compulsions and obsessions. Man is not happy when he feels forced. These are the internal things, when he is obsessed and feels compelled, whether it's through religious reasons or backwards value reasons. Even if he carries those values he's unhappy. When we start legislating from the outside, there's force on the outside also. This is on the laws on the lawbooks, saying that adult people can't have any kind of sexual relationships they want to. I don't think that the homosexual should be harassed and badgered and brutalized because of their desire to have a sexual relationship that is not popular--at this time. So we plan in the future to make sure that we have solidarity with all the oppressed people.

Cleaver's Exile

I've seen many times the news media say (Eldridge Cleaver) is in self-exile. The government has said that he's in self-exile. But I disagree with that. He was forced to leave the country because the alternative was between jail or imprisonment, because the foundation of the plot was already laid. He has been working in Algiers and communicating with us and contributing to the Movement. He's very much in touch. We've talked with him just about every other day.

I'm going to the United Nations to see about his return. We will ask the United Nations to hear his case and to have a trial there to see exactly if this country has the right to try Eldridge Cleaver. We don't feel they have a right to try Eldridge Cleaver, and surely not the right to put him in jail without a trial at all. You must remember that Eldridge Cleaver left this country not because he was going to stand trial. He left this country because he was going to be put into prison without benefit of trial because of the pressure of the Adult Authority under the leadership of Ronald

Reagan, who didn't like our Minister of Information very well. Eldridge Cleaver exposed him to the people and showed the people what Ronald Reagan really was, and Ronald Reagan couldn't deal with that.

Call for a Plebiscite

We feel that Blacks should be able to decide their destiny. We've been oppressed so long that we think it's our right for the UN to create a plebiscite, to supervise a vote that only Blacks will participate in. This will ask the Blacks exactly what they want to do, whether they want to remain a part of this country and so forth.

As far as the Party is concerned, if Blacks decided that they don't want to even be a part of this country, this is our right. But this doesn't mean that we are abandoning the long-term goal. The long-term goal is to create a world where nations don't exist at all anyway. Taking these things in mind, we feel we shouldn't thrust any plan on the people's head without consulting them. So we're always in the community consulting people, and that's where we will continue to be.

Recasting the Constitution

The constitutional convention we are planning to take place in Washington ... the purpose of this convention is to plot a new course for this country. We think the old constitution has not given freedom to all of the people here in America. So we're asking all people to come to this convention to plot a new course, to write a new constitution and also to serve notice upon the corrupt officials and evil gentry that we will no longer tolerate the way they are exploiting the people.

We notice that something definitely has to be wrong with the Constitution when the fact is that Black people are struggling to gain rights White people gained in 1776 when they fought the war of national liberation, the war of independence from Great Britain. We must realize that that war was not a revolutionary war. It was a national war of liberation, but the capitalistic characteristics of the country then remained. The propertied class benefitted by the war more than anybody else. At that time the Blacks were slaves.

The Black Panther Party views the civil rights movement as a continuation of the national war of liberation that Whites won in 1776. This was a bourgeois war, just as the civil rights movement has been led by the bourgeoisie. Even though it's necessary for us to gain those civil rights, it's necessary that by getting those rights now would not free us now. It will not even give us those rights that Whites got in 1776, simply because the dialectics have changed, the social forces have changed. Therefore it will take new rights to guarantee that freedom.

Black Capitalism

Because everything is owned now, the concept of Black capitalism makes very little sense, because it would encourage Blacks to invest in a defunct economy, defunct in this country in the respect that there is no room for further national development. The ruling circle is not even investing their profit into this country any longer. This is why they move from nationalism to imperialism, because they invest their profits in foreign countries. They make factories there, they pay very low salaries to the people, they deplete the foreign country of its riches and bring them back home to support the overexpanded and depleted lands that are now America.

We say that Black capitalism doesn't make any sense. The only way that we can share in the wealth that we produce--because the workers produce all the wealth--is to have a proportional representation in a socialist framework that is to expropriate and to nationalize the private industries and administer them in a public fashion so that each man will get a part of what used to be profit.

Marxism/Leninism Carried to a Higher Level

We're not doctrinaire because we're more interested in really dealing with social forces than adhering to some so-called Marxist-Leninist principle that might not be Marxist-Leninist after all. Marx himself said: one thing I am not is a Marxist. What he meant was that he wasn't going to follow any doctrinaire thing; he was going to use the science of materialism in a creative fashion, and that makes a true Marxist-Leninist, you dig? We've carried Marxism-Leninism to a higher level. We say the Black Panther Party is the

greatest Marxist-Leninist of all times. We're not bragging when we say that, but we realize that history has bestowed upon us an obligation, and that is to take the philosophy of Marx to its final goal. That is, to create a world that has an absence of statehood.

This is why I emphasize we're no longer revolutionary nationalists. We don't believe what's commonly called nationhood for America. We believe that America must now subscribe to strict internationalism. While these other revolutionary countries who are Marxist-Leninist are revolutionary nationalists in the respect that they are fighting for autonomy and independence and nationhood. We support that because they have to do that to protect themselves against the international bourgeoisie, the international aggressor.

We realize that if the United States didn't support every fascist and bourgeois government in the world, that government wouldn't exist, and the people would win the revolution immediately. Once America stops relating to this nationalism it wouldn't be necessary for any other country in the world to relate to nationalism. Developing these kinds of concepts we think we have taken Marxism-Leninism to even a higher level than it's ever been in history, because history has not yet created the communist world. It's only created the socialist world, which is also based on statehood. So the next stage would be the communist world where statehood no longer exists. We will take the banner of the people's struggle, the black and the red banner, to final victory.

Power to the People! Without the people there would be no victory. The people are responsible for historical developments and the course history takes. No matter what kind of weapon the oppressor has, we know that no new kind of weapon will win the war, but the people always win it. The people are the real heroes, and without this knowledge we don't have even the rudimentary knowledge.

(Interview of Huey Newton by KPFA-FM Radio on August 14, 1970. Edited and mimeographed by Black Panther Party Headquarters, Oakland, Calif. Collected September 4, 1970.)

2. ON MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE

(Eldridge Cleaver)

Back during the days when I was still running around in Babylon talking crazy about the pigs, if anyone had told me that someday I'd find myself in this exile situation trying to send a message back about the Black Panther Party's Breakfast for Children program and the white radicals of Berkeley with their People's Park, I would have probably taken it as a put-down. But it's all for real, and what is more I find myself very enthusiastic about these developments.

Both of these actions expose the contradictions between the pretenses of the system and the needs of the people. They stand as an assertion that the pigs of the power structure are not fulfilling their duties and that the people are moving, directly, to fill their own needs and redress their grievances. And the pigs in turn, with their hostile response to both of these programs, clearly expose themselves as enemies of the people.

Breakfast for Children and the People's Park are qualitatively different types of actions from anything we have been into in the past. They represent a move from theory to practice and implementation. The pigs cannot argue against the substance of these programs, even though they hate the forces that have brought them about. In fact, they will move to co-opt the programs and to drive a wedge between the programs and the vanguard forces that launched them. This has been the strategy of ruling classes all through history, because they really have no other choice--given their determination to hang on to power until it is wrenched from their grasp--and even this never really works, except to buy them time. It can only be tragic when the vanguard forces allow themselves to get co-opted. On the one hand, the pigs will pressure the vanguard--they will make liberal use of the Big Stick--but at the same time they will use the carrot. For instance, they will try to get Jerry Rubin to become the director of a City Park, and Bobby

Seale to become the headwaiter in a statewide Nutrition Supplement program.

I have a question: Will my child ever be able to sit down to a Black Panther breakfast, and will Kathleen and I, with our child--and I'm counting this Panther before he claws his way out of the womb--ever be able to visit the People's Park? What we need is some liberated territory in Babylon that we are willing and prepared to defend, so that all the exiles, fugitives, draft-dodgers, and runaway slaves can return to help finish the job.

The black and white communities are controlled by the same ruling class. Towards black people this ruling class uses racism as a tool of oppression, turning this oppression into a National Question. In the white community, oppression is a Class Question, provoking the response of Class Struggle. And when we see clearly that we're only dealing with Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, we recognize the beauty of the response of the people. We recognize that the Breakfast for Children Program and the People's Park are authentic and accurate responses to the situations of black people and white people in Babylon.

Breakfast for Children pulls people out of the system and organizes them into an alternative. Black children who go to school hungry each morning have been organized into their poverty, and the Panther program liberates them, frees them from that aspect of their poverty. This is liberation in practice. In the white mother country where class struggle is the appropriate tactic and expropriation of the expropriators the proper means to revolution, the act of seizing that land and establishing a People's Park could not have been more to the point. So it is clear that the people are always able to discover a way of moving. Out of their practice they develop new theory that sheds light on future ways of moving.

If we can understand Breakfast for Children, can we not also understand Lunch for Children, and Dinner for Children, and Clothing for Children, and Education for Children, and Medical Care for Children? And if we can understand that, why can't we understand not only a People's Park, but People's Housing, and People's Transportation, and People's Industry, and People's Banks? And why can't we understand a People's Government?

It is very curious that the Breakfast for Children

program was born in West Oakland, which can be categorized as one of the most oppressed areas in Babylon, and that the People's Park, on the other hand, was born in Berkeley, which can be categorized as one of the least oppressed areas. I think this is how we have traditionally looked upon these two contrasting areas. Of white people, those in Berkeley thought that they were amongst the freest in the land, and of black people, those in West Oakland knew that they were amongst the most oppressed. So we have these two very significant developments, one in the most oppressed area and the other in the least oppressed area. And it's very instructive to notice that on the one hand there is an attempt to fill the emptiness of want, of need, and of deprivation that the system of oppression and colonization leaves in the lives of a people. Here people are fighting for the essentials of survival, fighting for food for children, fighting for what it takes just to survive. On the other hand, in the least oppressed area, we see a fight which at a superficial glance can be mistaken for a fight for leisure. But we must look upon the fight for the People's Park as an in-road into the system, because it poses the question of basic rearrangements in the system itself. And this is really the crucial question in our overall struggle, for in Babylon there is not really a scarcity of goods, and there is, objectively, no real reason why there can't be people's parks, because the land is available in abundance. But the capitalists, who must first see the prospects of a profit before they make any distribution of the resources, do not see a profit in a park for the people. And they see no percentage, beyond underwriting some marginal goodwill in the community or good public relations, in the Breakfast for Children program. They see this program as a threat, as cutting into the goods that are under their control. They see it as cutting into the expendable portion of their possessions. These two questions pose the basic problem that radicals have to deal with in Babylon; ultimately, they both pose precisely the same question. It is only because they start from such divergent sources that they give the appearance of being worlds apart. One springs from needs that are obvious and basic, and people can relate to them on that basis, while the other springs from an area that we are not accustomed to looking upon as basic to survival. People can readily relate to the need to eat breakfast, but it is possible that they cannot see the need for a park. They can see life continuing without a park but they would be more concerned about attempting to perpetuate life without food.

Revolution, in its essence, means precisely the rearrangement of a system. Many people think of revolution only as overt violence--as guns shooting and conflagrations, as flames leaping into the air, bodies in the streets and the uprising masses storming city hall. This is only one phase of the revolutionary process, and the violence is not an end in itself but only the means through which the necessary power is seized so that the rearrangements in the system can be carried out. It is the means for expropriating the land, the natural resources, the machines, all the means of production, the institutions of society--for taking them out of the control, out of the hands of those who now have them and who have abused them, who have perverted these things and have converted them into instruments with which to pursue their own private gain at the expense of the wider public good.

Ironically, many of the oppressed people themselves do not feel that they have a right to the things that a revolutionary program demands in their name. They have guilt feelings about it. They recognize and relate to people having food to eat and a park for their children to play in. But when the pigs of the power structure oink their lying tears, bemoaning the outlaw nature of the movement, these politically unaware people who are not firm in their ideology will get up-tight and feel guilty. They can even be made to feel that they are doing something wrong or something that is immoral, and they can be manipulated because of this feeling. It is necessary to dispel this feeling, because what it flows from is indoctrination with the myth of private property, the myth and the cluster of beliefs that have been spawned by the soothsayers of greed in order to sanctify their possession of the earth under the guise of private property.

We are trapped between our visions of what life could be like and what it really is: a People's Government in which a rational arrangement is made, and the present reality--helicopters dispatched over college campuses to spread clouds of noxious gasses in order to intimidate the people and to stifle their protests; troops marching in battle formation down our streets; sharpshooters in the uniforms of the guardians of the law, taking aim, taking deadly aim, at citizens, actually aiming at vital spots of the body, actually pulling triggers, and actually killing people. And we stare dumbly, and we wonder, and we feel impotent and intimidated because we know that they have the guns, and they have the courts, and they have the prisons.

In a recent issue of the Black Panther Party newspaper which reported on the first casualty of the battle for the People's Park, an essential question was raised: "The white mother country radicals have demonstrated that they are willing to lay down their lives in the struggle, but the question still begs an answer--are they willing to pick up the gun?" This gives rise to another question. After picking up the gun, whom do we shoot?

We must get it clear in our minds that we will shoot anyone who uses a gun, or causes others to use guns, to defend the system of oppression, racism, and exploitation. And the issues of the People's Park and the Breakfast for Children program clearly convey that we are moving beyond the racist pig cops to confront the avaricious businessmen and the demagogic politicians, because we have to ask ourselves who sends the cops and the National Guard, and who they are there to protect.

We have nothing to gain by deluding ourselves or by seeking ways to evade the reality, the terrible reality, that confronts us. We must face the fact that we are at war in America. Not everyone realizes that there is a war going on. Some of us understand theoretically that in a capitalistic economy the relationship between the ruling class and the ruled has been defined as a relationship of struggle, of war, but even so it is as though we have been reading some mysterious sociological poetry that stimulates the fat inside our skulls and gives us some sort of secret thrill. Others of us are so nitpicking fanatical that we cannot assess the reality before our very eyes--the reality in which we ourselves are participants and which our own work has helped bring about--unless we can read it in a book written a hundred years ago in another country, under vastly different circumstances which do not begin to approximate the gigantic proportions of the task which rests so smotheringly upon our shoulders.

The principles that have been learned from our experience with the People's Park and the Breakfast for Children program, I think, will take root in the minds of radicals all over the United States. Myself, I'm tired of using the terms "radicals" and "militants" and I prefer to use the term "revolutionaries," because if we are not involved in a Revolution, and if we don't understand ourselves to be revolutionaries, then there is very little that we can really hope to do. But if we understand ourselves to be revolutionaries, and if

we accept our historic task, then we can move beyond the halting steps that we've been taking, beyond the Stupid Revolution, and gain the revolutionary audacity to take the actions needed to unlock and focus the great revolutionary spirit of the people. All they need is to get their teeth into a pig's ass, or to see the ace up the avaricious businessman's sleeve or the lies in the teeth of the demagogic politicians. Then there will be a new day in Babylon, there will be a housecleaning in Babylon, and we can halt the machinery of oppression, purge our institutions of racism, and put the oppressors up against the wall--or maybe more appropriately, up against the fence that they have built around the People's Park.

Eldridge Cleaver

Minister of Information (in exile, Algiers, Algeria)
Black Panther Party

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

(Mimeographed flier collected from the Black Panther Party Headquarters, Oakland, California, on September 22, 1969.)

3. 400 YEARS OF FASCISM

"When a long train of abuses and usurpations pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security." Such is the rhetoric of the Constitution of the United States which is supposed to be the highest law in the land. Well, the "highest law of the land" declared in 1954 that segregation in public schools was against the law. Sixteen years later finds schools still segregated and men in all levels of government guilty of breaking the law, but not being brought to justice for it. The only way that they will ever be brought to justice is by the people holding court, in the streets if need be.

Just one week ago in Lamar, South Carolina, two bus loads of school children were attacked by a mob of White racists. How many more buses will Black people tolerate before they begin to pay the racist oppressor in his own coin? How long will it take niggers to forget Fred Hampton and Mark Clark? Will it take as long as it took to forget the four little children who knelt to pray in Alabama one day? How about three lives for Mississippi? Cold-blooded murderers are walking around oinking in the face of Black people. America is committing crimes against every country in the world where people are striving to develop their homeland. At the same time crimes are being committed against the American people themselves. But only the American people can stop those crimes from being committed against them. The people have to understand that they have a right, a human right to resist fascism. If America can tolerate fascist attacks on buses of school children, then America can tolerate some dead racists. At this point in history it's either, or, either Black people move for their own survival or share the same fate as the Jews during the Hitler era.

If Black people are going to survive America, we must begin to relate to our own self-reliance and self-subsistence, because it is a historical fact that White people are not going to free Black people--they never have and they never will. Every avenue has been provided for those White

people who claim they want to see an end to the rising tide of fascism in America. The Black Panther Party has organized programs to try to put an end to fascism in America short of a bloodbath. Community Control of Police which is urgently needed, should have an overwhelming amount of peace-loving White people standing in line to work to see that it gets implemented. But what we get is lip service from White people who either can't stand to take directions from Black people or they have a vested interest in seeing the pigs continue to run amuck. Whether White people move on it or not, we believe we can end police brutality in our Black community by organizing self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending the Black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The second amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all Black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

The so-called American justice department is swiftly moving to commit an act of legal lynching by railroading the Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Bobby Seale, through the courts into the electric chair. This is a gross, it is the paramount insult to the Black community and to Black people. Black people know that Bobby Seale has committed no crime. The only thing Bobby Seale has done is to expose this decadent racist country for what it is and along with Huey P. Newton put together an organization to deal with the problems facing Black people in this country. He has dedicated his life to his people. If the pigs pursue their scheme to murder Bobby Seale, there will be a reciprocal action, a counter-blow. Before Black people sit back and allow the pigs to murder Bobby in the electric chair, we will cut all the electricity and there won't be any lights for days.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BIG MAN

Deputy Minister of Information

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

(Collected from a Black Panther street vendor on March 28, 1970. "400 YEARS OF FASCISM" is a mimeographed flier.)

4. COMPLETE SATISFACTION!

Speech by Fred Hampton, Chairman, Illinois Chapter, Black Panther Party, April 27, 1967

All Power to the People

What we are basically going to be talking about today is what the pig is doing to the Panthers all around the country. We are going to have to talk about what we are going to do about the repressions that they are putting on the Black Panther Party. We are not worried about getting off it--let's try to deal with it.

We got to talk first of all about the main man. The main man in the Black Panther Party, the main man in the struggle today--in the United States, in Chicago, in Cuba and anywhere else--the main man in the liberation struggle is our Minister of Defense, and yours too, Huey P. Newton. He's the main man because the head of the imperialist octopus lies right in this country and whoever is dealing with the head of the octopus in this country is the main man. He's in jail now. We must tell the world that Huey P. Newton was tried by the pigs and they found him guilty. He was tried by the people, who found him not guilty, and we say let him go, let him free, because we find him not guilty. This is our relentless demand. We will not let up one day, we will not give up the struggle to liberate our Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, and we will continue to exert pressure on the power structure and constantly bombard them with the people's demand that Huey P. Newton be set free.

It was Huey P. Newton who taught us how the people learn. You learn by participation. When Huey P. Newton started out what did he do? He got a gun and he got Bobby and Bobby got a gun. They had a problem in the community because people was being run over--at a certain intersection. What did the people do? The people went down to the government to redress their grievances and the government told them to go to hell: "We are not going to put no stoplights down there UNTIL WE SEE FIT." What did Huey P. Newton

do? Did he go out and tell the people about the laws and write letters and try to propagandize 'em all the time? NO! Some of that's good, but the masses of the people don't read --that's what I hear Huey say--they learn through observation and participation. Did he just say this? NO! So what did he do? He got him a shotgun, he got Bobby and he got him a hammer and went down to the corner. He gave Bobby the shotgun and told him if any pig motherfuckers come by, blow his mother fuckin brains out. What did he do? He went to the corner and nailed up a stop sign. No more accidents, no more trouble. And then he went back--another situation like that. What'd the people do? They looked at it, they observed; they didn't get a chance to participate in it. Next time what'd they do? Same kind of problem came up. The PEOPLE got THEIR shotguns, got THEIR hammers. How'd they learn? They learned by observation and participation. They learned one thing. When there is a fire, you gather round the fire. Huey got a shotgun and everybody gathered round him and Bobby. They saw what was going on and they had a chance to participate in it. As the vanguard leader he taught the people about the power structure; he led the people down the correct road of revolution. What are we doing?

Breakfast for Children

Our Breakfast for Children program is feeding a lot of children and the people understand our Breakfast for Children program. We sayin' something like this--we saying that theory's cool, but theory with no practice ain't shit. You got to have both of them--the two go together. We have a theory about feeding kids free. What'd we do? We put it into practice. That's how people learn. A lot of people don't know how serious the thing is. They think the children we feed ain't really hungry. I don't know five year old kids that can act well, but I know that if they are not hungry we sure got some actors. We got five year old actors that could take the academy award. Last week they had a whole week dedicated to the hungry in Chicago. Talking 'bout the starvation rate here that went up 15%. Over here where everybody should be eating. Why? Because of capitalism.

What are we doing? The Breakfast for Children program. We are running it in a socialistic manner. People came and took our program, saw it in a socialistic fashion not even knowing it was socialism. People are gonna take

our program and tell us to go on to a higher level. They gonna take that program and work it in a socialistic manner. What'd the pig say? He say, "nigger--you like communism?" "No sir, I'm scared of it." "You like socialism." "No sir, I'm scared of it." "You like the breakfast for children program?" "Yes sir, I'd die for it." Pig said, "Nigger, that program is a socialistic program." "I don't give a fuck if it's Communism. You put your hands on that program motherfucker and I'll blow your motherfucking brains out." And he knew it. We been educating him, not by reading matter, but through observation and participation. By letting him come in and work our program. Not theory and theory alone, but theory and practice. The two go together. We not only thought about the Marxist-Leninist theory--we put it into practice. This is what the Black Panther Party is about.

Subversives

Some people talk a lot about communism, but the people can't understand and progress to the stage of communism right away or because of abstract arguments. They say you got to crawl before you can walk. And the Black Panther Party, as the vanguard party, thought that the Breakfast for Children Program was the best technique of crawling that any vanguard party could follow. And we got a whole lot of folks that's going to be walking. And then a whole lot of folks that's gonna be running. And when you got that, what you got? You got a whole lot of PIGS that's gonna be running. That's what our program's about.

The Black Panther Party is about the complete revolution. We not gonna go out there and half do a thing. And you can let the pigs know it. They come here and hide--they so uncomfortable they sitting on a taperecorder, they got their gun in their hair--they got to hide all this shit and they come here and do all this weird action. All they got to do is to come up 2350 West Madison any day of the week and anybody up there'll let them know, let the motherfucker know: Yes, we subversive. Yes, we subversive with the bullshit we are confronted with today. Just as subversive as anybody can be subversive. And we think them motherfuckers is the criminals. They the ones always hiding. We the ones up in front. We're out in the open, these motherfuckers should start wearing uniforms. They want to know if the Panthers are goin' underground--these motherfuckers IS underground. You can't find 'em. People calls the pigs but

nobody knows where they at. They're out chasing us. They hiding--can't nobody even see 'em.

When people got a problem, they come to the Black Panther Party for help and that's good. Because, like Mao says, we are supposed to be ridden by the people and Huey says we're going to be ridden down the path of social revolution and that's for the people. The people ought to know that the Black Panther Party is one thousand per cent for the people. They write a lot of articles, you know, niggers'll run up to you in a minute--when I say niggers I mean white niggers and black niggers alike--niggers'll run up to you and talk that shit about, Man, I read in the Tribune today. Well you say, Man, fuck it right there. If you didn't read it in the BLACK PANTHER paper, then you ain't read shit.

Mickey White

We in the Black Panther Party have another brother I want to take some time to rap about. This brother is constantly on our mind. This brother's name is Michael White --Mickey White. This brother is beautiful. He's being held now in jail for one hundred thousand dollars bail. Some of you who listen to the radio might have heard about brothers in the state chapter, our field secretary and Defense Captain, brother Nathaniel Junior and brother Merrill Harvey being laid up on some phoney gun charge. We don't say the Panthers don't want guns, but we already got guns and we don't have to go and try and steal or connive to buy any guns from anybody. What they are trying to do is to squash out the Black Panther Party--they're trying to squash out the leadership. Trying to squash out Bobby Rush, the Deputy Minister of Defense. Trying to squash out Chaka and Che, the Deputy Minister of Education.

Mickey White was in that bullshit with Nathaniel Junior and Merrill Harvey. Last week when they went to court even the judge in court said, you all gonna get a fair trial whether you deserve it or not. These are the types of actions we are confronted with. Mickey White is in solitary confinement and doesn't get to come out of his cell for anything at anytime. And he might be in that cell for the rest of his life. His bond is \$100,000. That's \$10,000 cash.

Mickey White is a proven revolutionary. He's not nobody we THINK is going to be a revolutionary. He's a

proven revolutionary. All of you have to understand that Mickey White is a Panther in ideology. He's a Panther in word and he's a Panther in deed. He's a Panther that understands it's a class struggle--not a race question. You have to understand the pressures the Black Panther Party goes through saying this. You can see the pressures the Black Panther Party goes through by making a coalition with whites.

You can see that we had a group in California who committed their first acts of violence on the Black Panther Party. Ron Karenga and US¹ never shot nothing but dope until they shot them brothers. They been an organization longer than the Black Panther Party. When the Black Panther Party stood up and said we not going to fight racism with racism US said "NO, we can't do that because it's a race question and if you make it a class question then the revolution might come sooner. We in US ain't prepared for no revolution because we think that "power grows from the sleeve of a Dashiki." They are armed with rhetoric and rhetoric alone. And we found that when you're armed with rhetoric and rhetoric alone a lot of times you get yourself hurt. Eldridge Cleaver told them, even though you say you fight fire with fire best, we think you fight fire with water. You can do either one, but we choose to fight with water. He said, we're not going to fight racism with racism. We're going to fight racism with solidarity. Even though you think you ought to fight capitalism with black capitalism, we're going to fight capitalism with socialism.

We got a whole lot of people being busted and you don't even know about all these people. There's one here you definitely have to know about and that's our Deputy Minister of Defense--Bobby Rush. Our Deputy Minister Bobby Rush was busted on some bullshit with a gun thing. He's got three gun charges. He's been convicted of one with a six month lead. He's out on appeal now. I know a lot of you people say, well goddam, you got a Mickey White defense fund, an Eldridge Cleaver defense fund, a Merrill Harvey defense fund, a Nathaniel Junior defense fund, a Huey Newton defense fund, a Fred Hampton, Jule, Che and Chaka defense fund--and I just can't keep up with all these defense funds. But since we the vanguard party we try to do things right, so we got one defense fund so you don't get mixed up

1. US was a rival black militant group in Los Angeles. See the chronology for details.

on what name to send it to. We'll decide who it goes to. You can just send it to Political Defense Fund, 2350 West Madison. If you want to send something to Breakfast for Children, you can send it to 2350 West Madison also, and you can earmark that money to go to the Breakfast for Children program.

We got Mickey on our mind tonight--and everybody knows we got Huey P. Newton on our mind tonight. We got every political prisoner in jail on our mind tonight. Let's talk about it. We understand that Mickey White, Huey P. Newton, and Dennis Mora; people like Bobby Hutton and Eldridge Cleaver--all of these people either dead, or in exile or in jail. A lot of people understand this will lose real faith in the vanguard by not understanding what we're talking about.

A lot of these people will go up to you in a minute and say, "Why all these people being taken, why haven't they shot it out with some pigs." Well, what do we say? If you kill a few, you get a little satisfaction. But when you can kill them ALL you get complete satisfaction. That's why we haven't moved. We have to organize the people. We have to educate the people. We have to arm the people. We have to teach them about revolutionary political power. And when they understand all that we won't be killing no few and getting no little satisfaction. We'll be killing 'em all and getting complete satisfaction.

Go with the People

So what should we do if we're the vanguard? What is it right to do? Is it right for the leadership of that struggle to go faster than the followers of that struggle can go? NO! We're not going to be dealing in commandism. We're not going to be dealing in no tailism. We say that just as fast as the people can possibly go, that's just as fast as we can take it.

While we take it, we must be sure that we are not missing the people in the valley. In the valley we know that we can learn to understand the life of the people. We know that with all the bullshit out there, you can come to consider yourself on the mountain top. I may even consider myself one day on the mountain top. I may have already. But I know that in the valley there are people like Benny and there

are people like me, people like Mickey White and people like Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. And that below the valley are people like Bobby Hutton, people like Eldridge Cleaver. We know that going into the valley is a dangerous thing. We know that when you go out to the valley you got to make a commitment.

A lot of people think the revolution is bullshit, but it's not. A lot of us think that when you get in the revolution you can talk your way out of things, but that's not true. Ask Bobby Hutton, ask Huey Newton, ask Eldridge Cleaver, Mickey White and Dennis Mora. Ask these people whether it's a game. If you get yourself involved in a revolutionary struggle then you've got to be serious. You got to know what you're doing. You got to already have practiced some type of theory. That's the reason we ask people to follow the leadership of the vanguard party. Because we all theorizing and we all practicing. We make mistakes, but we're always correcting them and we're always getting better.

We used to run around yellin 'bout Panther Power--the Panthers run it. We admit we made mistakes. Our ten point program is in the midst of being changed right now, because we used the word "white" when we should have used the word "capitalist." We're the first to admit our mistakes. We no longer say Panther Power because we don't believe the Panthers should have all the power. We are not for the dictatorship of the Panthers. We are not for the dictatorship of Black people. We are for the dictatorship of the people.

The difference between the people and the vanguard is very important. You got to understand that the people follow the vanguard. You got to understand that the Black Panther Party IS the vanguard. If you are about going to the people you got to understand that the vanguard leads the people. After the social revolution, the vanguard party, through our educational programs--and that program is overwhelming--the people are educated to the point that they can run things themselves. That's what you call educating the people, organizing the people, arming the people and bringing them revolutionary political power. That means people's power. That means the people's revolution. And if you're not about being involved in a people's revolution then you got to do something. You got to support the people's revolution.

Complete Satisfaction

The Black Panther Party is the vanguard party. You better get on the Black Panther Party. If you can't get on, goddamit you better get behind. If you can't get behind goddamit, you better get behind somebody else so you'll at least be able to follow indirectly, motherfucker. We ain't asking you to go out and ask no pig to leave us alone. We know that the pigs fuck with us cause they know we're doing something.

Cause a lot of dudes walk around and write articles about it. I know some revolutionary groups say these niggers are running around saying these things, the PL (Progressive Labor) motherfuckers talking that bullshit, couldn't even find things to criticize. They was so far in the ground. What was they doing? Organizing groundhogs, educating groundhogs, arming groundhogs and teaching groundhogs revolutionary political power.

I say that we're the first group to come above ground where the people can follow you and see you. And if you make a mistake, it's better than not even being at all. When I made that mistake I made it for the people, and I correct it for the people. You don't hear there was a raid on PL's office last night. You ain't never heard that. When you hear of PL busted in New York, PL's leader in jail with no bars, PL leader run out of the country, PL leader shot 18 times while he was running with his back turned and hands tied up, PL leader gets breakfast for children for 1800 people a week. You ever hear it? Ya never heard it. I want to hear it. If you do hear it, it'll be because of the Black Panther lead. I'm not putting all these things out and saying PL doesn't know 'em. But I'm saying that when people write something like this, a lot of people don't understand it. And I wanted to take the time to explain it.

There are some things that PL says that are valid. Don't misunderstand me. We don't get mad because in some way or another PL is trying to better the Black Panther Party by trying to criticize it. But I just want to let you know, ain't nothing all right and ain't nothing all wrong. We're not all right--though we trying to get that way. We make mistakes but we understand that we gonna make some more mistakes. And we gonna try and correct these mistakes and we gonna try and keep on moving.

So what do we say? Don't get the pigs offa us cause we can stand 'em. We jail Mickey White, we should let 'em murder Bobby Hutton, we should let 'em run Eldridge Cleaver out of the country. Why? Because you can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail the revolution. You can run a freedom fighter around the country but you can't run freedom fighting around the country. You can murder a liberator, but you can't murder liberation.

Kill a few and get a little satisfaction. Kill some more and you get some more satisfaction. Kill 'em all and you get complete satisfaction. We say All Power to the People--Black Power to Black People and Brown Power to Brown People, Red Power to Red People and Yellow Power to Yellow People. We say White Power to White People EVEN. And we say Panther Power to the vanguard party and we say don't kill a few and don't kill some more. As a matter of fact we rather you didn't move until you see we ready to move, and when you see we ready to move you know we not dealing with a few. You know that when we get ready to move we dealing from complete--that's what we're after--total, everything, everybody--complete satisfaction.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

(Collected from Black Panther Hdqtrs., Oakland, January 17, 1969. Mimeographed.)

5. WHAT WE WANT

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want all black men exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county, and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

(Mimeographed flier collected from the Black Panther Party Headquarters, Oakland, California, on July 22, 1970.)

6. OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

WHAT WE WANT The program is usually divided into one section of ten points entitled "What We Want" and then ten paragraphs explaining these points in a section entitled "What We Believe."

WHAT WE BELIEVE For the sake of clarity, we have put each one of the ten points in "What We Want" immediately above its corresponding paragraph in "What We Believe."

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people: therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed: that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

FREE HUEY NOW

GUNS BABY GUNS

(Collected from the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California on November 14, 1966.)

7. ON THE CAPTURE OF ANGELA DAVIS

October 17, 1970

(Huey P. Newton)

The Black Panther Party accuses the reactionary authorities of California and the United States of using Angela Davis as a scapegoat. The traditional judiciary are responsible for the event that took place in the Marin Courtroom, and the police are responsible for the murder of the judge, Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas and James McClain, as well as the wounding of the hostages. In order to draw attention from the responsible persons, Angela Davis was hunted, captured, and accused of crimes of which the American reactionary system is in fact guilty of.

The event would have not taken place if there were justice in the courts for Black people. The court has been generally nonresponsive to the cries for redress of Black people's grievances and have continued to act in the interest of the racist, capitalist ruling circle. This is clear when we note that the prosecuting attorney in the Marin case is married to the niece of the judge who presided over the case. On the other hand, Jonathan Jackson and the prisoners of war, William Christmas, James McClain and Ruchell Magee, were motivated by their desire for justice and freedom. We feel that when all peaceful means are exhausted, it is the people's right, it is the people's duty, to take steps that will guarantee justice and freedom.

The San Quentin guards and the Marin County police must be charged with the murders of Comrades Jackson, McClain and Christmas and the murder of the judge. We note that absolutely no one in the establishment has made issue of the fact that all of the shots fired in the Marin incident came from the vicious weapons of the police and the district attorney. It is clear that the gestapo police were not interested in the preservation of human life. Their first concern was apprehension and murder and if anyone happened to survive, this would be an accident and not their chief concern. It shows that the gestapo are not even concerned about the

lives of their class brothers, the judge and the district attorney.

So it seems that absolute madness has swept the shores of America. Reason is not to be found among the ranks of the oppressor. The very fact that the reactionary authority has the audacity to accuse Angela Davis of a crime is indicative of the lack of justice and the lack of simple reasoning. Those who are clearly guilty are exonerated. Those who are victims and innocent stand accused.

The Black Panther Party calls upon Black people in particular and all oppressed people in general to rise up and do whatever is necessary to free Angela Davis. Angela Davis has exemplified the highest expression of concern for the people. We the people show our appreciation of this by coming to her aid in this hour of need. Angela has given her energy and devotion to the people's cause without reference to her personal safety, without reference to her personal gain. She has given in a free and a very pure way, in a way that sets an example for people everywhere. We must not fail Angela Davis.

(Collected from Black Panther Party Hdqtrs., Oakland, December 7, 1970.)

8. I AM A COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY

(Angela Davis)

The bourgeois press seized upon my recent capture by the federal pigs as an occasion to inject more confusion into the minds of the American public.

Focussing the bulk of its articles on my personality and background, the press has clearly attempted to camouflage the political issues involved in my case.

Regardless of what degrees I may have, regardless of my external appearance and psychological make-up, the reality of my present situation is this: the reactionary pig forces of this country have chosen to persecute me because I am a Communist revolutionary, participating together with millions of oppressed people throughout the world, designed to overthrow all of the conditions that stand in the way of our freedom.

While newspapers and magazines wasted pages upon pages, attempting to resurrect my past, they should have instead been cognizant of hundreds upon hundreds of American revolutionaries who have been confronted with a fate no different than mine.

Government agents incessantly employ the most devious and barbarous means to rid the country of all those who are challenging racism, exposing capitalist exploitation, and working, organizing and fighting for freedom.

Scores of members of the Black Panther Party have been mutilated and murdered; hundreds from among their ranks have been shoved into the nation's prisons; and still others have been forced into exile. And the Soledad Brothers continue to battle with the representatives of the repressive prison apparatus, programmed to offer death by gas to anyone who dares to speak out against racism and propagates the idea of freedom among captives.

Ronald Reagan and the State of California, having first demanded my job because I am a member of the Communist Party, are now demanding my life. Why?

Not because I am the dangerous criminal they portray, not because I am guilty of their framed-up charge for which there is no evidence whatsoever, but because, in their warped vision, a revolutionary is a priori a criminal.

Turning myself in to Ronald Reagan and his accomplices would have been equivalent to placing my head voluntarily on the executioner's block.

The death of Jonathan Jackson at San Rafael was not only a deep and crushing blow to me, his family and friends, but a profound loss to the world revolutionary movement. No black man or woman can fail to understand the unbearable pressure which led Jon to his death, struck down in the midst of battle.

His courage and self sacrifice leave us with a legacy which no force can eradicate.

My flight was unsuccessful. I have been captured. To me, this means that I must strengthen my will to fight this monstrous system.

One more is being held captive, but more important, the revolution continues to grow in vigor and force. Our enemies find themselves confronted with a growing awareness among the people that the concentrated effort to maim and murder revolutionaries is just another form of the daily genocide of police brutality, and impoverished living conditions of ghettos and barrios.

If masses of people will fulfill their obligation to protect the men and women who have devoted their lives to the struggle for equality and freedom, let there be no doubt about it: victory will soon be ours.

LONG LIVE THE MEMORY OF JONATHAN JACKSON!

FREE ERICA, BOBBY, THE NEW YORK PANTHERS, THE SOLEDAD BROTHERS, AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Angela Yvonne Davis

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Volunteers wishing to donate time to the Angela Davis Defense Committee, or those wishing to contribute money, can contact the United Committee to Defend Angela Davis at 462-1329, 555 N. Western Ave., L.A.

(Collected from the Black Panther Party, Los Angeles branch, November 17, 1970. Mimeographed.)

9. TO MY BLACK BROTHERS IN VIET NAM

(Eldridge Cleaver)

I'm writing this on January 4, 1970. We are starting out a new year. On August 31, I'll be 35 years old. I'm married, and I have one child with another one on the way. I am in love with my wife and I would like to enjoy a happy life raising a family. But I am not free to live the type of life that I would like. Pigs--the racist fascist rulers of the United States--won't let me.

And I would like to ask you Brothers: are you living the life that you want to live? Are these same pigs cramping your style? I don't believe that you actually prefer to be way over there, fighting against our Vietnamese Brothers and Sisters who are fighting for their freedom. Because your own people, whom you left behind in Babylon, are also fighting for their freedom against the very same pigs who have you over there doing their dirty work for them. And your people need you--and your military skills--to help us take our freedom and stop these racist pigs from committing genocide upon us, as they have been doing for the past 400 years.

I am the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, and I am speaking to you now for the Party, but I want to put a personal note into this because I know that you niggers have your minds all messed up about Black organizations, or you wouldn't be the flunkies for the White organization--the U.S.A.--for whom you have picked up the gun. The Black Panther Party has picked up the gun too, but not to fight against the heroic Vietnamese people, but rather to wage a war of liberation against the very same pigs whom you are helping to run their vicious game on the entire world, including upon your own people. Dig it. I wonder, can you dig it? Can you dig niggers, brothers and sisters off the block, who have said later for the pigs and have picked up guns, in Babylon, to bring to fulfillment the dreams of freedom that have kept our people alive for 400 years, under the racist yoke of the White man. From the sad days

of slavery in the cotton fields of the South, to the present bleeding years of the Democrats, Republicans, Uncle Toms, Lyndon B. Johnson, and now, the foulist racist pig ever to become president of the United States, Richard Meally Mouth Nixon--your Commander in Chief and the Number One Enemy of our people.

The struggle of our people for freedom has progressed to the form where all of us must take a stand either for or against the freedom of our people. You are either with your people or against them. You are either part of the solution or part of the problem. We either help our people or, by refusing to help them, make it easier for the enemy to destroy us. There are no two ways about it.

While you are over there in Vietnam, the pigs are murdering our people, oppressing them, and the jails and prisons of America are filling up with political prisoners. These political prisoners are your own Black Brothers and Sisters. We have a desperate, life and death struggle on our hands, and if we as a people are going to survive, then we must save ourselves. We need your help, desperately, before it is too late.

This is the moment in history that our people have been working, praying, fighting, and dying for. Now, while the whole world is rising up with arms against our oppressors, we must make a decisive move for our freedom. If we miss this chance, this golden opportunity, who knows when we will get another chance? We cannot afford to gamble with this chance by putting things off. Now is the moment for decision. This very moment, right where you are. You do not have to wait until later, until after you are back home and out of the army. You can make your move now, while you are still inside the army, because the army is one of the key weapons which the pigs have up their sleeves to use against us when the time comes. And make no mistake about it, that time is coming and it is almost here.

The pigs are using G.I.'s from Vietnam on the police forces and National Guard units inside Babylon. Many of our Black Brothers go to Vietnam and learn how to kill human beings, then when they are released from the army they return home and end up on the police force. On the police forces, they carry out the same dirty work against us, in the name of "Law and Order" that they carried out against the Vietnamese people.

In 1968-69, the pigs murdered 28 members of the Black Panther Party and nobody even knows how many other of our Black Brothers and Sisters were shot down by the pigs. But it is a long list. Scores of our Party members are being held as political prisoners because they took a stand for the freedom and liberation of our people. Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, our leader, is in prison in California. Our Chairman, Bobby Seale, is in jail and the pigs are trying to put him in the electric chair, in Connecticut, on trumped up charges. Pigs in Chicago murdered Fred Hampton while he was asleep in his bed. Shot him in his head with a shotgun, with 00 Buck-shot. The pigs have been making mass arrests of our Party members, with 21 arrested in New York, 14 in New Haven, 18 in Los Angeles, and 16 in Chicago.

We appeal to you Brothers to come to the aid of your people. Either quit the army, now, or start destroying it from the inside. Anything else is a compromise and a form of treason against your own people. Stop killing the Vietnamese people. You need to start killing the racist pigs who are over there with you giving you orders. Kill General Abrams and his staff, all his officers. Sabotage supplies and equipment, or turn them over to the Vietnamese people. Talk to the other Brothers and wake them up. You should start now weeding out the traitors against you. It is better to do it now than to allow them to return home to help the pigs wipe us out. Especially the Uncle Tom officers should be dealt with now, because the pigs will use them as effective tools against our people. When you can no longer take care of business inside the army, then turn yourself over to the Vietnamese people and tell them you want to join the Black Panther Party to fight for the freedom and liberation of your own people. If you do cross over, you don't have to worry about the Vietnamese people abusing you. They will be glad to see you drop out of the army because what they want most in life is to stop the fighting in their land. You have a duty to humanity as well as to your own people not to be used as murderous tools by racist pigs to oppress the people.

Think about it, Brother, and act on it, because you don't have much time. Organize all the Brothers around you and move. Force the pigs to understand that you will no longer be their slave and hired killer. Let the pigs know that, instead, you want the persecution of your Black Brothers and sisters to stop and that you intend to help stop it.

Demand that Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale be set free. Especially, help us force the pigs not to murder Bobby Seale in the electric chair.

We have dedicated our lives, our blood, to the freedom and liberation of our people, and nothing, no force, can stop us from achieving our goal. If it is necessary to destroy the United States of America, then let us destroy it with a smile on our faces. A smile for the freedom and liberation of our people. The Black Panther Party calls for freedom and liberation in our life time, because we want to leave behind us a decent world for our children to grow up in. Let's turn 1970 into a year in which people make a heroic drive for freedom and liberation.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

SEIZE THE TIME!

Eldridge Cleaver
Minister of Information
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

(Mimeographed statement collected from the Black Panther Party Headquarters, Oakland, California, on March 11, 1970.)

10. TO THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT
OF SOUTH VIETNAM

August 29, 1970

(Huey P. Newton)

In the spirit of international revolutionary solidarity the Black Panther Party hereby offers to the National Liberation Front and Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam an undetermined number of troops to assist you in your fight against American imperialism. It is appropriate for the Black Panther Party to take this action at this time in recognition of the fact that your struggle is also our struggle, for we recognize that our common enemy is the American imperialist who is the leader of international bourgeois domination. There is not one fascist or reactionary government in the world today that could stand without the support of United States imperialism. Therefore our problem is international, and we offer these troops in recognition of the necessity for international alliances to deal with this problem.

Such alliances will advance the struggle toward the final act of dealing with American imperialism. The Black Panther Party views the United States as the "city" of the world while we view the nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America as the "countryside" of the world. The developing countries are like the Sierra Maestra in Cuba and the United States is like Havana. We note that in Cuba the people's army set up bases in the Sierra Maestra and choked off Havana because it was dependent upon the raw materials of the countryside. After they won all the battles in this countryside the last and final act was for the people to march upon Havana.

The Black Panther Party believes that the revolutionary process will operate in a similar fashion on an international level. A small ruling circle of seventy-six major companies controls the American economy. This elite not only exploits and oppresses Black people within the United States; they are exploiting and oppressing everyone in the

world because of the overdeveloped nature of capitalism. Having expanded industry within the United States until it can grow no more, and depleting the raw materials of this nation, they have run amuck abroad in their attempts to extend their economic domination. To end this oppression we must liberate the developing nation--the countryside of the world--and then our final act will be the strike against the "city." As one nation is liberated elsewhere it gives us a better chance to be free here.

The Black Panther Party recognizes that we have certain national problems confined to the continental United States, but we are also aware that while our oppressor has domestic problems these do not stop him from oppressing people all over the world. Therefore we will keep fighting and resisting within the "city" so as to cause as much turmoil as possible and aid our brothers by dividing the troops of the ruling circle.

The Black Panther Party offers these troops because we are the vanguard party of revolutionary internationalists who give up all claim to nationalism. We take this position because the United States has acted in a very chauvinistic manner and lost its claim to nationalism. The United States is an empire which has raped the world to build its wealth here. Therefore the United States is not a nation. It is a government of international capitalists and inasmuch as they have exploited the world to accumulate wealth this country belongs to the world. The Black Panther Party contends that the United States lost its right to claim nationhood when it used its nationalism as a chauvinistic base to become an empire.

On the other hand, the developing countries have every right to claim nationhood, because they have not exploited anyone. The nationalism of which they speak is simply their rightful claim to autonomy, self-determination and a liberated base from which to fight the international bourgeoisie.

The Black Panther Party supports the claim to nationhood of the developing countries and we embrace their struggle from our position as revolutionary internationalists. We cannot be nationalists when our country is not a nation but an empire. We contend that it is time to open the gates of this country and share the technological knowledge and wealth with the peoples of the world.

History has bestowed upon the Black Panther Party the obligation to take these steps and thereby advance Marxism-Leninism to an even higher level along the path to a socialist state, and then a non-state. This obligation springs both from the dialectical forces in operation at this time and our history as an oppressed Black colony. The fact that our ancestors were kidnapped and forced to come to the United States has destroyed our feeling of nationhood. Because our long cultural heritage was broken we have come to rely less on our history for guidance, and seek our guidance from the future. Everything we do is based upon functionalism and pragmatism, and because we look to the future for salvation we are in a position to become the most progressive and dynamic people on the earth, constantly in motion and progressing, rather than becoming stagnated by the bonds of the past.

Taking these things under consideration, it is no accident that the vanguard party--without chauvinism or a sense of nationhood--should be the Black Panther Party. Our struggle for liberation is based upon justice and equality for all men. Thus we are interested in the people of any territory where the crack of the oppressor's whip may be heard. We have the historical obligation to take the concept of internationalism to its final conclusion--the destruction of statehood itself. This will lead us into the era where the withering away of the state will occur and men will extend their hand in friendship throughout the world.

This is the world view of the Black Panther Party and in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism, solidarity and friendship we offer these troops to the National Liberation Front and Provisional Government of South Vietnam, and to the people of the world.

(Collected from the Third World Liberation Front, University of California at Berkeley, October 2, 1970. Mimeo.)

11. LETTER FROM NGUYEN THI DINH

October 31, 1970

To: Mr. Huey P. Newton
Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party

Dear Comrade:

We are deeply moved by your letter informing us that the Black Panther Party is intending to send to the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam an undetermined number of troops, assisting us in our struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

This news was communicated to all the cadres and fighters of the PLAF in South Vietnam; and all of us are delighted to get more comrades-in-arms, so brave as you, on the very soil of the United States.

On behalf of the cadres and fighters of the SVN PLAF I would welcome your noble deed and convey to you our sincere thanks for your warm support to our struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation. We consider it as a great contribution from your side, an important event of the peace and democratic movement in the United States giving us active support, a friendly gesture voicing your determination to fight side-by-side with the South Vietnamese people for the victory of the common cause of revolution.

In the spirit of international solidarity, you have put forward your responsibility towards history, towards the necessity of uniting actions, sharing joys and sorrows, participating in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

You have highly appreciated the close relation between our both uncompromising struggles against U.S. imperialism, our common enemy. It is well known that the U.S. government is the most warlike, not only oppresses and exploits the American people, especially the Black and the coloured ones,

but also oppresses and exploits various peoples the world over by all means, irrespective of morality and justice. They have the hunger of dollars and profits which they deprived by the most barbarous ways, including genocide, as they have acted for years in South Vietnam.

In the past years, your just struggle in the U.S. has stimulated us to strengthen unity, and rush forward toward bigger successes.

The U.S. imperialists, although driven by the South Vietnamese and Indochinese people in a defeated position, still have not given up their evil design, still seek to gain the military victories and to negotiate on the position of strength. On the SVN battle-fields, they are actively realizing their policy of "Vietnamization" of the war with a view to maintaining the neocolonialism in South Vietnam and prolonging the partition of our country.

The very nature of the policy of "Vietnamization" is prolonging indefinitely the aggressive war at a degree ever so cruel and barbarous. While Nixon puts forward his "initiative for peace," in SVN the aggressive war got harder and harder; after the "urgent pacification" came the "Eagle campaign"; after that, by the "special pacification" in the countryside and the "for the people" campaign in the towns, Nixon and the Thieu Ky Khiem clique have perpetrated innumerable barbarous crimes towards the people of all strata in SVN.

The 5 point proposal of Mr. Nixon, put forth on October 7th, exposes more clearly his stubborn, perfidious and deceitful nature to U.S. and world opinion. It is clear that Nixon is unwilling to accept a peaceful settlement on the Vietnam problem, but tries to stick to South Vietnam as a neocolony and U.S. military base, as well as to legalize the U.S. aggression in Indochina as a whole.

The U.S. government must seriously respond to the September 17th statement of the RSVN PRG, for it is the just basis, the reasonable and logical solution of the SVN problem. These are also the urgent aspirations of the whole Vietnamese people, of the progressive Americans and of those the world over who cherish peace, freedom and justice.

Dear Comrades, our struggle yet faces a lot of hardships, but we are determined to overcome all difficulties,

unite with all progressive forces, to heighten our revolutionary vigilance, to persist in our struggle, resolutely to fight and win. We are sure to win complete victory.

So are our thinkings: At present, the struggles, right in the United States or on the SVN battle-fields, are both making positive contributions for national liberation and safeguarding the world peace. Therefore, your persistent and ever-developing struggle is the most active support to our resistance against U.S. aggression for national salvation.

With profound gratitude, we take notice of your enthusiastic proposal; when necessary, we shall call for your volunteers to assist us.

We are firmly confident that your just cause will enjoy sympathy, warm and strong support of the people at home and abroad, and will win complete victory; and our ever closer coordinated struggle will surely stop the bloody hands of the U.S. imperialists and surely contribute to winning independence, freedom, democracy and genuine peace.

Best greetings for "unity, militancy, and victory" from the SVN people's liberation fighters.

NGUYEN THI DINH,
Deputy Commander
Of the SVN People's
Liberation Armed Forces.
Republic of South Vietnam

(Collected from Black Panther Party Hdqtrs., Oakland, November 15, 1970.)

12. ON THE PEACE MOVEMENT

August 15, 1969

(Huey P. Newton)

The Peace Movement is extremely important, more important than I thought it was two years ago. The reason I place so much emphasis upon the Peace Movement now is because I see that if peace were to come about it would revolutionize the basic economic composition of the country.

Let me explain. We all know now that this is a garrison state, a warfare state. And not by accident. When capitalism can no longer expand, it looks for other avenues, other deposits, other places to increase its interests. At this moment, the super capitalists (General Motors, Chrysler, General Dynamics, and all of the super companies--I understand about seventy-six people control the whole economy of this country) and their companies are the main contractors for the Pentagon. In other words these companies are putting their overexpanded capitalistic surplus into military equipment. This military equipment is then placed in foreign countries such as Vietnam or the Dominican Republic which are the final depositories for expendable goods. With the wedding of industry and the Pentagon, there is a new avenue to invest in. Military equipment is an expendable avenue, because the purpose of the equipment is to explode therefore you have to keep building new ones. A perpetual process.

We know that the U.S. has a secret pact with Thailand. These pacts are all part of a super-plan to keep the economy going. What would happen then, if peace were to come about? There would not be that final depository for expendable goods; the surplus would then be turned back into the country. The military plants, the related defense plants, and industrial plants would be brought to a grinding halt.

This is why you have some of the union representatives supporting the war effort. This is why the AFL-CIO supported the invasion of the Dominican Republic. It forced out Juan Bosch for the simple reason that they know that as

long as the war goes on, they can exploit the people through taxation and human lives. We sent soldiers, you see, brothers, because they are expendable too; people are expendable.

One of the favored arguments of the capitalists is that America is not an imperialistic country because the traditional method of the imperialist is to go into a developing country, rape it of its raw materials, refine them either in the colony or the mother country, or refine them and sell them back at a high price to the colonized people. And the argument is that "America is not doing that. We don't need any equipment or raw materials out of Vietnam." And this is very true. This contradiction sort of puzzled me for a while and I couldn't really answer it so I just talked around it. But now I understand that something new has happened; that with the wedding of science and industry, the industrial plants in America have solved the basic problem of raw materials through synthetics and the knowledge of using raw materials that are already here in a variety of ways, therefore keeping the plants going. The favored argument of the capitalist is "We must be there to stop communism or wars of subversion." What is overlooked is the fact that the super-capitalists know we don't need to rape the country. I think Cuba was the turning point away from the traditional colonized country.

Another argument is that they need the strategic military positions. But we know that the U.S. does not need any strategic military positions because they already have enough equipment to defend this country from any point in the world if attacked. So they could only be there to use this developing country as a depository for expendable goods.

In traditional imperialism, people from the mother country usually go to the colony, set up the government, and the leaders of the military, but this is not so in America. People from the mother country have not gone to the colonized country of Vietnam and jockeyed for position, but the profit has all been turned back into America. The defense contractors now jockey for position in the mother country for the defense contracts. Then they set up a puppet government or a military regime so that they can supply these developing countries with military equipment. They really do not want to be in Vietnam or any of the developing countries because they feel (and they have done this) that they have bought off the militaries in these various developing countries so that they will only be an arm of the Pentagon. The military

regime in Greece is a good example. They have full control of the military officers, paying them high salaries so they will not have to send American troops and disturb the mother country.

But what happens when one battalion of military is defeated? Then you send in reinforcements for the defeated puppet army in that developing country. The whole government becomes subject to the army. And the army becomes suspicious of the civil government in these developing countries because they are told by the Pentagon through indoctrination and money that the civil government is a communist threat to the nation. Military coups follow, and this is what happens over and over in countries supported by the U.S.

We have actually an imperialistic variation of imperialism. The jockeying for positions of power is inside of the mother country now, so, in fact, the American people have become colonized.

At one time I thought that only Blacks were colonized. But I think we have to change our rhetoric to an extent because the whole American people have been colonized, if you view exploitation as a colonized effect. Seventy-six companies have exploited everyone. American people are a colonized people even more so than the people in developing countries where the military operates.

This is why the Peace Movement is so important. If the Peace Movement is successful, then the revolution will be successful. If the Peace Movement fails, then the revolution in the mother country fails. In other words, the people would be pushed so uptight once war were to stop that the whole economy would go down the drain. Only a planned economy could combat the chaos that the absence of incentive would cause. Now war is the incentive for the military contractors.

This is why it is very important that we have communications with the Peace Movement. Not only should we communicate with it, we should actually get out and support it fully in various ways including literature and demonstrations.

We have to realize our position and we have to know ourselves and know our enemies. A thousand wars and a thousand victories. And until we know who the enemy is and

what the situation is we will only be marking time. Even the Peace Movement doesn't compromise our defense principles. We still defend ourselves against attack and against aggression. But overall, we are advocating the end to all wars. But, yet, we support the self-defense of the Vietnamese people and all the people who are struggling.

(Collected from Black Panther Party Hdqtrs., Oakland, September 17, 1969. Mimeo.)

13. IMPERIALISTS

All this proves ever more clearly that U.S. imperialism is the most barbarous and shameless aggressor of modern times, the main force of aggression and war, the chief-tain of world reaction, the bulwark of modern colonialism, the strangler of national liberation and independence, and the disturber of world peace:

GREAT BRITAIN:

After losing World War II, Great Britain economically and in every way was in a complete mess. In the form of war loans the U.S. decided to aid Britain to help rebuild her economy. Britain has been unable to repay most of these loans as during this period the countries in the so-called British Empire started and have since gained their independence, resulting in Britain's source of cheap raw material and exploitation being cut off. Result, U.S. controls or has shares in most British firms and Britain depends on U.S. for defense, etc.

WEST GERMANY:

After World War II, Germany was completely messed up. The so-called allies, Great Britain and U.S., after Germany was divided into East and West, took over West Germany. U.S. started pouring capital into Germany and nearly all troops stationed in Germany are Americans and British. About 70% of the main German firms have American capital invested.

FRANCE:

Because of financial interests and the decline of the franc, France is tied to the U.S. economically. Also, with Pompidou as President, the situation has worsened. Pompidou is connected with the Rothschilds, the world's largest gold and diamond dealers which are tied up with U.S. and South African capital.

JAPAN:

Puppet force of U.S. imperialism in Asia; after the last war the same situation as West Germany.

ISRAEL:

The Zionist puppet state of U.S. imperialism.

SOUTH AFRICA:

After Great Britain, U.S. has the most investment in South African gold and diamonds. U.S. has refused to vote against South Africa in the United Nations concerning her apartheid policy.

RHODESIA:

Closely linked with South Africa and together with Portugal hopes to keep a block of imperialists in Africa to impede the struggle of Africans struggling for their liberation. Most of Rhodesia's aid comes from South Africa which in turn comes from the U.S.

GREECE:

The Communist Party became the strongest Party in Greece recently. The C.I.A. intervened and there was a coup. The C.I.A. then installed the Junta which is being kept in power by American aid.

BELGIUM:

After De Gaulle kicked out the NATO headquarters from France, Belgium housed it. Most so-called international firms, e.g. Shell, have their European headquarters in Belgium. These firms are of course all American under one name or another.

PORTUGAL:

Portugal is a dictatorship. She controls and has colonized Angola and Mozambique for a number of years. The people of Angola and Mozambique have been waging a heroic struggle against the fascist Portuguese powers for some time for their National Liberation. Portugal is able to stabilize her own economy because of the diamonds, gold and other

natural resources of her colonies in Mozambique and Angola. Africa's pig police force is made up of the Secret Service pig coalition of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal. They have formed a coalition in order to preserve the racist capitalist rule of the Europeans in Africa.

NORWAY & DENMARK:

Members of NATO--the world pig police force. The first NATO fleet is stationed in Norway, the chief C.I.A. operation for Northern Europe is conducted in Denmark, 50% of Danish and Norwegian firms are controlled by U.S. capital.

(Mimeographed flier collected from the Black Panther Party Headquarters in Oakland on July 17, 1971.)

14. AMERICA IS THE PRISON

Prisons are really an extension of our communities. We have people who are forced at gun point to live behind concrete and steel. Others of us, in what we ordinarily think of as the community, live at gun point again in almost the same conditions.

The penitentiaries, as they call them, and the communities are plagued with the same thing: dope, disease, police brutality, murder, and rats running over the places that you dwell in. We recognize that most of our militant-dissatisfied youth are off in the penitentiaries. Eighty percent of the prison population (298,000 in 1967) is black, brown, and yellow people. You look around and say, "what happened to my man. I haven't seen him for a long time," then you get busted, go to jail, and there he is.

Prisons are an extension of the repression. In these penitentiaries are the Malcolms, Cleavers, Huey P. Newtons, Bobby Seales and all other political prisoners. Now the inmates are moving forth to harness their own destinies. They're not relying on lying, demagogic politicians to redress their grievances. Of course, the courts didn't redress their grievances in the first place, so there's no sense in relying on them either.

There's very little difference between the penitentiaries in California and those in New York, New Orleans, Alabama, or Chicago. It's the same system--America is the prison. All of America is a prison where the people are being held captive by the real arch criminals.

We say that prisoners themselves can do away with the prison system. In order for prisons to exist, it actually entails the participation of the inmates. They are responsible for the running of the prisons with the exception of being guards and wardens. They take care of all the administrative work, the cooking, cleaning. They make shoes. They upkeep the grounds. If the guards came to them one day and said, "all right, come out of your cell for head count" and they refused, then the penal society in this country

would collapse. The prisoners have the answer to the penal society in this country, because they know more about it than we in the Black Panther Party do or people on the outside. We're the proletariat for the community and they're the same for the prisons.

We say that we are not a political party. The reason is we feel that politics is war without bloodshed. War is bloodshed with politics. We think that there is basically no difference between the two. We are a political party by reason of the fact that our actions are political--not in the normal realm of the Democratic and Republican Parties. They are obviously not the only political parties that exist in this country or throughout the world. But these two political parties, the Democrat and Republican, control the destinies of all the people in the world by virtue of the fact that the U.S. is an empire. Another force--a righteous one--in the world is moving against this empire. The revolutionary forces in the world are fighting to be free of the shackles of the reactionary forces.

The utopia of socialism is what all oppressed people--freedom-loving people--are fighting for today. We have a principle in our party: the either/or principle. Either you're part of the problem or you're part of the solution; there is no in between; people don't exist in limbo. People can't live in the middle of the road. You have to jump off the road into either ditch depending on who's shooting at you.

When I came back to New York in about 1966, I was looking for something that would be an answer to what Malcolm X was all about. Then the Black Panther Party came here, started organizing the community and addressing themselves to needs which I hadn't seen other organizations doing. I thought the spirit of Malcolm X was personified in the party. That's why I became a Panther.

I come from a small town in Jersey. My parents were, and still are, very poor. I have been subjected to a lot of racism--institutional racism--in my life and want to move forth to alleviate the conditions not only of myself but also of all black people. The Black Panther Party has grasped the essence of what power is about. Huey P. Newton says that power is the ability to defy phenomena and make it act in a desired manner.

The phenomena was how we were being oppressed and

the question then became to find out who the oppressor was and make him act in the desired manner. It is simply a question to study scientifically. That's what the Black Panther Party is doing. It's addressing itself to the main needs of the people--food, clothing, and shelter--not taking the hand-me-down whims of the slave master on how we should receive these things.

We want the freedom and power to determine the destinies of our black communities. Every man has the right to determine his own destiny, but we don't have this right in the U.S. because we're still slaves. We're still considered as property. We work from 9-5, and make just enough money so that we have to return to work the following day. It has nothing to do with controlling your own destiny. It harasses --not harnesses--your creativity.

We're internationalists, because most of the people in the world are moving toward the same things: the right to food, clothing, shelter. Moving in, tuning in with the people of the world provides the checks and balances necessary to insure a humane society. We're already starting one.

Officially the Black Panther Party is addressing itself to the questions of food, land, housing, education, justice, and peace. We are insuring that we will survive and assert our right to self-defense by any means necessary. This is what all revolutionaries in the world are doing. We feel that what is going on will take place independent of man's will, because historically the oppressed have always overthrown the oppressor.

We have 41 branches and chapters of the NCCF, National Committee to Combat Fascism. All of them have breakfast programs. Last year we fed 100,000 kids throughout the U.S. We have begun a health clinic service. We have two on the West Coast and New York City, one each in Chicago and Boston. We also have free clothing programs, liberation schools and clothing drives.

We're opening up a free shoe program, where we'll have a factory of our own that will belong to and manufacture shoes for the people. Eventually there will be one here and one on the West Coast. We have many service programs of this type aside from our schools: community discussion groups, lead poisoning tests, and a housing program where we advise the tenants on their rights to deal with their

landlords. They're revolutionary programs because the people are coming together to deal with these problems themselves. The U.S. government has so much food now that they can afford to pour it into the ocean, plow it under, let it rot, to keep prices up. Yet we have thousands of children starving inside this affluent country. We are addressing ourselves to filling the empty bellies of starving kids, which here is definitely a revolutionary act.

Many people wonder how many people we represent. We don't deal in figures that much. But a good example of how many black people are dissatisfied can be seen by remembering the 250 rebellions that went down in the mid-sixties. There were black people out in the street en masse, moving against the symbols of the power structure. Maybe this is a good measuring instrument.

White people won't be able to remain in the middle of the road for too long. Most people in the world have taken a position which will effect middle class America also. The things that middle class America enjoys are based upon the suffering of most of the people in the world. Conscious people will begin to stop and think, "how is it that I can enjoy these luxuries when most of the people in the world are suffering?" The lies and rhetoric that the Nixons and Agnews put forth cover up the fact that the United States is the world's largest parasite.

In the same manner these so-called leaders say war is justifiable in Vietnam. The U.S. has no rights in there any more than in most of the other countries in the world--where they're rifling, plundering, murdering the people for their own narrow-minded benefit. American middle class people should begin to check this out. People in the world look at them as being part of the problem, because they don't share their benefits with the rest of the world. The fact that whites are a minority in the world is no reason for you to fear for your lives. People will judge you more by your practice.

The Black Panther Party, however, wouldn't join a United Front at this point, because racism is a prevalent reality in our society. Historically, when black people have tried to work with white people, whites have always co-opted blacks. This is why we don't have any white people in the Panther Party. We do realize, however, that the main problem to confront in America is not race, but class. We can

move people closer to a selfless society or a society that is not plagued with the diseases that capitalism is plagued with, after this type of system is done away with. We will work with anyone who is concerned with trying to build a new socialist society. It's very hard for us to work with white people, because many people are affected by racism unconsciously.

We are finding ways to work with whites though. This Labor Day in a plenary session of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, we called for a new constitution to be written by the American people that will relate to the needs and desires of all people--including black people, third world people, oppressed people, and poor white people. We came back to Philadelphia in September, 1970 because we know that the first convention that they had in 1776--when George Washington, John Hancock, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson and the other robber barons got together with their clique of bandits--wasn't addressing itself to all American people. Black people, for example, were considered as being $3/5$ of a man at that time. The southern racists who owned the slaves and still controlled the vote for that $3/5$ figure, still forgot completely about women.

Since the 1776 convention didn't take into consideration all the people that were here then, we say their paper was antique the day it was written--and now belongs in a museum. We declare it null and void. We're moving forth to rewrite the constitution or come up with a constitution that would address itself to all men. Some 15,000 people came to Philadelphia, $2/3$ of whom were black. After we have a new constitution, then we say we possibly could deal with a United Front, which reflects the majority who are oppressed here. That majority is black, poor, white people, brown people, and young people--all of whom are moving with us toward seeing the society for exactly what it is, which is a fascist state, you know. They don't want any part of it.

There is no doubt in my mind that the masses of white people are misled. White people are the most brainwashed or whitewashed people on the planet. Who else in the world could go around and talk about buying hoola hoops for their children and look at insipid fiction on television while the masses of the people are dying for the so-called sake of freedom, justice and equality or keeping the world free in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Indochina, South America, Africa, Asia, Latin America and right here in Babylon--

which is what we call the U.S. ?

Who else could sit back and talk about some old dry Broadway play and the world series, when you have most of the youth in the ghettos dying from overdoses of heroin that's being poured into the community as a form of genocide to kill the youth of the black community? I know how brain-washed white America is. It's a matter of 400 years of brain-washing using much the same methods that the slaves here in Babylon have been subject to. We have been able to overcome the influence of the brain-washing quicker, because we've received the brunt of the stick all the time.

Most white people don't see the unholy wedding between U.S. industry and the military. The economy of the country is based upon its ability to murder people. That's how they make money these days. Goodyear makes three tires for airplanes and tracks for tanks, Smith and Wesson makes rifles, G.E. helps in the manufacture of napalm bombs and rockets and the wiring for airplanes. IBM helps guide bombs. All this makes murder in this society big business. It's not a question of grabbing the natural resources anymore because they've avoided this problem through synthetics. Now they go all over the world to have an outlet for the overflow of production. It's very clear to see. For example, freedom in South Korea means some people over there are electricians and make 38 cents an hour making transistors. Over here a skilled worker would walk out of the shop if he didn't make \$3.50 an hour. Janitors make almost that much.

This country is founded on dog-eat-dog principles. We don't relate to that. We relate to collectivism. We strive against individualism. We say that the spirit of the people is manifest in the masses of the people. They will surpass the enemy's technology.

We're talking about building a socialist state, where there would be a dictatorship of the masses of people and not just a ruling clique, or a group of people who've hoarded all the means of production in the world. We're talking about redistribution of the land. The property would belong to the people.

I can't prophesy for you, but I do know that most of the oppressed people in the world are moving at lightning speed to overthrow the shackles of oppression. I see it manifest every day in every corner of the world. I may not see it

in my lifetime, but it's good to know that people are acting positively, that most of the people in the world are working uncompromisingly for their liberation.

Che Guevara said armed rebellion was impossible now in this country. We have an undying love and respect for Che, but the rebellion exists in America already. We have a better chance of surviving than the U.S. government, because our future is much brighter. We don't have too much of an alternative, because we're dying anyway. I see very little difference from dying at the age of 11 from an overdose of heroin or dying at the age of 16 or 17, like Jonathan Jackson, trying to liberate black people. It's simply a question of what's more preferable--a reactionary or revolutionary suicide.

America has always been a very violent country, the most violent in the history of mankind. This culture is not going to voluntarily lay down lethal weapons or its aggression against most people in the world. The only recourse that oppressed people have to this is to choose revolutionary violence as opposed to reactionary violence. This is the only thing that the rulers of this country understand.

Zayd Shakur
Deputy Minister of Information
Black Panther Party
State of New York
1370 Boston Road
Bronx, New York

(Collected in New York City on October 17, 1970. Mimeo-graphed.)

15. TO THE BLACK MOVEMENT

Interview of Huey P. Newton, May 15, 1968

QUESTION: The question of nationalism is a vital one in the Black movement today. Some have made a distinction between cultural nationalism and revolutionary nationalism. Would you comment on the differences and give us your views?

NEWTON: There are two kinds of nationalism: revolutionary nationalism and reactionary nationalism. Revolutionary nationalism is a people's revolution with the people in power as its goal. Therefore, to be a revolutionary nationalist you of necessity have to be a socialist. If you are a reactionary nationalist you are not a socialist and the consequences of your reactionary stance is the oppression of the people.

Cultural nationalism, or pork-chop nationalism as I sometimes call it, is basically a problem of having the wrong political perspective. It seems to be a reaction to, instead of an action against, political oppression. The cultural nationalists are concerned with returning to the old African culture and thereby regaining their identity and freedom. In other words, they feel that assuming the African culture is enough to bring political freedom. Many cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists.

Papa Doc in Haiti is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He promotes the African culture while he oppresses the people. [He's against anything non-Black, which on the surface seems very good.] But in fact he is misleading the people. He merely kicked out the racists to replace them with himself as the oppressor. Many of the nationalists in the country seem to desire the same ends.

The Black Panther Party, which is a revolutionary group of black people, realizes that we have to have an identity. We have to realize our Black heritage in order to give us strength to move on and progress. But as far as returning to the old African culture, it's unnecessary and in many respects unadvantageous. We believe that culture alone will not liberate us. We're going to need some stronger stuff.

A good example of revolutionary nationalism was the revolution in Algeria when Ben Bella took over. The French were kicked out, but because it was a people's revolution the people ended up in power. The leaders that took over were not interested in the profit motive or exploiting the people to keep them in slavery. They nationalized the industry and plowed the would-be profits back into the community. That's what socialism is all about. The people's representatives are in office strictly by the consent of the people. The wealth of the country is controlled by the people and they are considered whenever modifications in the industries are made.

The Black Panther Party is a revolutionary nationalist group and we see a major contradiction between capitalism in this country and our interests. We realize that this country became very rich upon slavery and that slavery is capitalism in the extreme. We have two evils to fight--capitalism and racism. We must destroy both racism and capitalism.

QUESTION: Directly related to the question of nationalism is the question of unity within the Black community. There has been some question about this since the Black Panther Party has run candidates against other Black candidates in recent California elections. What is your position on this matter?

NEWTON: Well, a very peculiar thing has happened. Historically you got what Malcolm X calls the field nigger and the house nigger. The house nigger had a few more privileges. He got the worn-out clothes of the master and he didn't have to work as hard as the field Black. He came to respect the master to the extent of identifying with him because he got a few of the leftovers that the field Blacks did not get. And through this identity with him he saw the slave-master's interest as being his interest. Sometimes he would even protect the slavemaster more than the slavemaster would protect himself. Malcolm made the point that if the master's house happened to catch on fire the house Negro would work harder than the master to put the fire out and save the house. While the field Negro, the field Blacks, were praying that the house burned down. The house Black identified with the master so much that when the master would get sick the house Negro would say "Master we's sick!"

The Black Panther Party are the field Blacks. We're hoping the master dies if he gets sick. The Black bourgeoisie seems to be acting out the role of the house Negro.

They are pro-administration. They would like a few concessions made, but as far as the overall setup they have a little more material goods, a little more advantage, a few more privileges than the Black have-nots or the lower class. And so they identify with the power structure and they see their interests as the power structure's interest.

The Black Panther Party was forced to draw a line of demarcation. We are for all those who are for the promotion of the interests of the Black have-nots, who represent about 98 per cent of Blacks here in America. We're not controlled by the White mother-country radical, nor are we controlled by the Black bourgeoisie. We have a mind of our own and if the Black bourgeoisie cannot align itself with our complete program, then the Black bourgeoisie sets itself up as our enemy. And they will be attacked and treated as such.

QUESTION: The Black Panther Party has had considerable contact with White radicals since its earliest days. What do you see as the role of these White radicals?

NEWTON: The White mother-country radical is the offspring of the children of the beast that has plundered the world and exploited all people of color. These are children of the beast that seek now to be redeemed because they realize that their former heroes, who are slavemasters and murderers, put forth ideas that were only facades to hide the treachery they inflicted upon the world. They are turning their backs on their fathers.

The White mother-country radical, in resisting the system, becomes somewhat of an abstract thing because he is not oppressed as much as Black people are. As a matter of fact, his oppression is somewhat abstract simply because he doesn't have to live in a reality of oppression.

Black people in America and colored people throughout the world suffer not only from exploitation, but they suffer from racism. Black people here in America, in the Black colony, are oppressed because we're Black and we're exploited. The Whites are rebels, many of them are from the middle class and as far as any overt oppression, they have not experienced it. So therefore I call their rejection of the system somewhat of an abstract thing. They're looking for new heroes. They're looking to wash away the hypocrisy that their fathers have presented to the world. In doing this they see the people who are really fighting for freedom. They see the people who are really standing for justice and equality and peace throughout the world. These

are the people of Vietnam, the people of Latin America, the people of Asia, the people of Africa, and the Black people in the Black colony here in America.

(Received from Black Panther Party Headquarters, Oakland, June 22, 1968. Mimeo.)

16. WE HAVE TO FIGHT TO LIVE

A moron, stupid, nigger--all of these names fit. The man is a pig, a stupid pig but dangerous. Here is a fool that lives in the community and talks like Alioto. This snake, this viper should not be trusted. He is very destructive to Black people, and our struggle. He has learned how to exploit and intimidate from his master. He uses words to confuse, and the suffering of the people in Hunter's Point as the key to Alioto's door. Black people know when a nigger is lying. Black people also know the Black Panther Party, not by words alone but by its practice. Our wish to serve the people is why we moved to the Hunter's Point area. Nothing will move us out other than the masses of the people. If they want us to leave, we will. Later for Rogers. Let's mobilize to free Bobby and Huey, brothers who have proved through practice that they love their people. A love so strong that they are willing to give all that they have, even life itself, to remove the oppressor from our community.

We have suffered under the exploitation of this system of government for four hundred years. Slaves--the victims of racism and unprovoked attacks. They kill us on the street, railroad us through courts with racist judges, imprison us, then we are killed off by mentally deranged guards. All of these things have served to educate Black people. Now that we have been educated we must use what we have learned from our teacher (America) to change the history of suffering of our people. Not by submitting to more brutality at the hands of these pigs, but by inflicting some suffering on them.

There is something that you should remember: we have a human right to kill in defense of our lives, so we say protect yourself. Our existence, our right to live as a people has been challenged by this fascist system. The U.S. government is guilty of conspiracy against the masses of people. They have conspired to keep us in poverty and to exploit us until we are no longer needed to keep this economy going. Then they devise ways to murder and imprison us through their courts.

Chairman Bobby Seale faces the Electric Chair for refusing to be a lackey, a tool for this racist system. Bobby chose to expose America and the so-called system of justice to the oppressed people of the world. So the plot continues, Huey, Li'l Bobby, Bunchy, John, Fred, and many others. These murders and imprisonments were planned by the master criminal, America. So that we have to be prepared to inflict the maximum damage on these pigs at any given time. Down with this system, down with any and everyone who is working to keep this monster alive. From the house nigger to the president. We have a right, a human right to move over anything that is in opposition to our liberation. The Black Panther Party has taken this position, not because we are suicidal, as has been said, but from investigation and objective reality and conditions. We have to fight to live. We shall live because we will continue to fight. This is the undying spirit of Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

DARE TO STRUGGLE DARE TO WIN

June

(Collected from the Black Panther Party office in Hunter's Point, San Francisco, on April 17, 1970. Mimeographed flier.)

17. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

We are being held in ultimate confinement within the confines of racist America. What the masses must be made to realize is that those under the power structure's pretext of freedom are also prisoners. As long as the oppressor controls the guns, his reign of terror will continue.

If we as revolutionary freedom fighters work hard to do our jobs correctly, oppressed people will begin to see the contradictions that exist in this decadent society and see exactly what is happening to them.

Our means of heightening the awareness of the people is political education; through political education and through our actions the people can be made aware of their plight. Once the oppressed masses heighten their level of political awareness and begin to employ the proper methods of liberation--they will use liberation's basic tool, the gun.

It is very important that you be the kind of person that the masses can pattern themselves after. If you wish to instill in the people the principles of liberation, then you must be the greatest example of liberation that they have ever seen. You must have close knit unity and discipline among your ranks. To try to function without these essentials would only lead to suicidal chaos.

Everyday, the pressure that you are under increases, but this is a good sign. This shows that we are becoming more of a threat to this sadistic empire. In spite of all of the savage attacks and cruel attempts to put us in a convenient "check," we are making great advances. This is because we have the decisive factor on our side that will nullify all scientific bullcrap; the truth.

We do not make attacks upon the people we love so dearly. Ours is not a pressure program or a money making scheme. For those who have heard the program and are still skeptical, we challenge them to simply check the facts for themselves.

On that point I will close. Thank you for your letters and support. We shall conquer without a doubt.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE!
PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD!

Edward Joseph
(Jamal)

(Collected from BPP Headquarters, Oakland, January 7, 1969)

18. SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, p. 59)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself: "... Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but "nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court c.t. 137, 138, 140, 141.)

Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his case.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains--falsely--that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decisions." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to garb in this 'veil of secrecy.' " (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12.)

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to reversal. Thirdly, the illegal functioning

of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Sherwin puts it:

"... The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation; but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice, we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention on this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.

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Paul Halvonik
Sherwin A. Shayne
Eugene Deikman
M. Lafue-Veon
M. R. Plasson Stibbe

POLITICAL PRISONER

Huey Newton

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ELDRIDGE
CLEAVERI would like to join the efforts of all those who are working
to defend Eldridge Cleaver from political persecution.Please add my name to the list of sponsors of the Interna-
tional Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver.I enclose _____ to assist the legal expenses and the
Committee's campaign to publicize and promote Eldridge
Cleaver's defense.

I can volunteer some time to help the Committee _____

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Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Profession _____ Organization or Title _____

ICDEC, 495 Beach Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94133

Robert Scheer, Director

(Mimeographed leaflet distributed by the Black Panther Party during summer and fall, 1969. Collected August 27, 1969.)

19. PANTHER ON DEATH ROW

Chip Fitzgerald is on Death Row in San Quentin. The government wants the entire Black Panther Party to be there with him, but Chip is the first. In the early spring of 1970, with Bobby and Ericka awaiting trial, with Huey still in jail, with some of the L.A. 18 still incarcerated, waiting for 15-20,000 dollars to be raised to set them free, Chip was sitting in a cell in a Los Angeles jail for some other offense and an official came to him and announced he was now wanted for something a bit bigger: murder in the first degree.

A rent-a-pig at Von's Supermarket was shot to death one night, a night that Chip was lying in bed at home with a severe head wound given him by a policeman a few days before. He lay in bed asleep while two women watched T.V. in another room, checking up on him every once in a while, to see that his bandages hadn't soaked through and to see that he was all right. He lay in bed asleep while some distance away a Von's security guard was shot to death. And he was accused of the murder.

Before the case came up to trial, the Panthers tried desperately to get a good attorney, but they had no money, and no attorney was available. The court appointed Beckler, a man who recently voluntarily defended one of the two policemen that killed two Mexican Nationals and won the case. The Panthers were desperate. Chip wished to defend himself rather than accept such unsympathetic counsel. The court denied him any such right. The Panthers asked for more time. The Judge said too much time had already gone by; it was time for justice to be meted out; the trial must go on, with Beckler as attorney for the defense, whether the defendant liked it or not.

From the beginning of jury selection to the final verdict and sentencing, four full days elapsed, one of the shortest murder trials in history! The jury was mostly male and entirely white. Some jurors had relatives in the police department. One juror was in a high position in a large bank, another was a supervisor at Hughes Aircraft, one woman had a husband who had worked for years with the F.B.I. These

were the people that convicted Chip. These people would have convicted any black person, no less a Panther. They had convicted Chip the moment they set eyes on him. That it only took four days shows how speedily they could all mete out their kind of justice.

The prosecution's main witness was a garage attendant who, from across the wide boulevard, had seen the security guard assaulted. His first testimony to the court had been, "Well, he was a man and he either had a big hat on or had a natural." When presented with Chip, he testified on the stand, "Yes, that's the man."

Beckler put both women, who had been with Chip the night of the murder, on the stand to testify. They swore Chip was at home in bed. They were both black. The garage attendant was white. The jury was racist. Chip was convicted of first degree murder. The jury was given ultimate power over Chip's life: Should they grant him life imprisonment or death in the gas chamber? They enjoyed wielding such power. Chip was condemned to death.

Chip's case is being appealed. If the appellate court is as racist or as frightened of black militants or as intimidated into submission to Nixon's fascist regime as the lower court, Chip may die. Reagan would be all too happy to end his moratorium on executions by killing a Black Panther. When you next pass a courthouse, see a T.V. trial, meet a judge in robes--when you next think upon JUSTICE, think of Chip, and understand better what Chip is fighting against and what he's fighting for.

Send money for Chip's appeal to:

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE PANTHERS
c/o 619 So. Bonnie Brae
Los Angeles, California
90057

(Mimeographed flier collected from BPP Headquarters, Oakland, on January 8, 1971.)

20. GESTAPO PIG RAID!!!

Last night's gestapo raid was alleged to be a raid on "a Panther fortress." This is another lie to justify the long pig attacks on our own LA offices and to finish the mass murder they had planned months before their raid December 8, 1969.

Last night's raid occurred at 361 W. Fig St. This house in no way was connected with the Black Panther Party, our offices, or our community centers. They were community people who support and respect the ideas and principles of revolutionary service to the people.

This is the kind of pig conspiracy the pig department uses to justify an attack on all of the houses that are used by the Black Panther Party for services to the community. It is also the type of information that causes people who make up juries of our non-peers to have prejudicial views of the brothers and sisters who are on trial in the fascist courts for demanding change in this society.

The mass media is the main tool used by the fascists in the trial of our chairman, Bobby Seale and sister Ericka Huggins in New Haven, Connecticut. This will insure them a trial in the atmosphere of guilty until proven innocent.

The same atmosphere will guarantee that it will be impossible to receive a fair trial in the cases of Bruce Richards in L.A., Landon Williams and Rory Hithe in Denver, Colorado, Randy Williams in Oakland, the N.Y. 21, and party members and workers in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and many other cities across racist America.

This is an attempt by the fascists to divert and delude the people from what is really happening. It is obvious from this search and destroy mission, carried out in the black community throughout America that the present Constitution is now defunct. Black people in their homes are subjected to wanton attack without regard for their human rights. This points out clearly the urgency to formulate laws that protect all the people. Our Revolutionary People's Constitutional

Convention will provide the medium this week-end, November 27 and 28 in Washington, D.C. at Howard University for these rights to be insured.

SO. CALIFORNIA MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, BLACK
PANTHER PARTY

(Mimeographed flier distributed by the Black Panther Party in Los Angeles on November 27, 1970. Collected in the UCLA Special Collections on June 17, 1974.)

21. FREE BOBBY & ERICKA

Demonstration
Tuesday Nov. 17
12 Noon
Federal Building
300 N. Los Angeles St.

Their trial begins today. We are also on trial. The people struggled and freed the Isla Vista students and won major victories in Huey and Los Siete de la Raza cases. The people must now free Bobby and Ericka.

If we fail to act now, the state will surely convict them. This will lay the foundation for further murders. Angela's life, and thousands of political prisoners' are at stake.

At the rally we will discuss and plan future action.

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

SPONSORED BY: Black Panther Party
C. U. P. P.

SUPPORTED BY: National United Committee to FREE
ANGELA DAVIS

For further info contact:

C. U. P. P.
421 S. Western Avenue - Room 201
388-7665

(Distributed at the University of California at Los Angeles on November 14, 1970. Collected in Special Collections of UCLA on June 22, 1970. Mimeographed. The demonstration referred to in this flier was in support of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins, Black Panther leaders on trial.)

22. UNITING AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY

October 23, 1971

What does the Black Panther Party mean when we say that we are revolutionary intercommunalists? In a few words, we believe that the world's people form a collection of communities, all dominated or controlled, either directly or indirectly, by the United States, by those few who rule the United States. The most common definition for a nation (as opposed to a community) is a group of human beings who have in common their own land or territory, economic system, culture (or way of day-to-day living), language, etc. At one time men from one nation would go out, and through warfare, conquer other nations. The conquerors would bring under their control the resources, the people, perhaps everything that was sovereign or sacred to the other nation. A variety of things would result: A government of the conquering nation might be established on the territory of the conquered nation; the foreign language may be imposed upon the people; the name of the nation might be changed; or most importantly, the economy of the conquered nation would be fully controlled by the conquerors.

Sometimes a nation is very small; sometimes, very large. But in this way, through these wars, the earth's people have over a very long period of time become divided up according to "national" boundaries, in varying ways at different times in history. These wars of conquest have changed world maps, or what one land mass is called. Sometimes one would look at a certain area and it might have a different name or boundary line, depending upon the date of the map (and sometimes, who printed it). We can remember such terms as the Roman Empire, the Ottoman Empire, the Byzantine Empire. We can remember Columbus "discovering" America (or, as he thought, India); and certainly some changes in national sovereignty have been made since then.

Today, things are different. The entire earth's land mass is known to man. The twentieth century's two World Wars have complicated things even more as to the national question. Technology is so advanced that places about which

we had only heard in the past are immediately reachable in person. Today a person can travel completely around the world in less than a day's time. If we bring all these past and present facts together with other information, the world begins to look a little different. What else do we need to remember: that in the area of technology, the United States is the most highly advanced country; that a territory as large as China, containing within its boundaries one quarter of the entire earth's population, cannot either lay claim to its own former province, Taiwan, or participate in an organization supposedly of all "nations" in the world, the United Nations; that most former empires, such as France, Germany, Italy, Britain, have lost their former holdings (the French have been run out of Vietnam and Algeria; the British, out of India; the Germans, out of Russia and Poland; the Italians, out of Ethiopia, etc.). The point is that only one country stands as the sovereign stronghold, dominating and threatening the sovereignty of all other people and lands--it is the United States Empire. No people, no land, no culture, no national economy is safe from the long arm of the last remaining empire.

The situation is this: A people can look only backwards, to history, to really speak of its nation. We call these former nations communities. All these territories exist under the threat of being brought into or, in fact, being a part of the United States Empire. Some of the territories are liberated, such as China, the northern halves of Korea and Vietnam, or Albania. But the weapons of conquest, the war weapons produced by modern technology, are in the hands of the United States. Not even a liberated territory can lay claim to sovereign control if its land, economy or people with this hanging over its head.

We Black people in the United States have always lived under this threat in our communities inside the United States. United States government control of our communities is not difficult to understand. For most of us it is difficult to imagine our lives without such domination. We have never controlled a land that was ours. We have never controlled our economy. We know of one culture, that as slaves. We know of one language, that of the slavemaster. Our sovereignty was not violated, for we United States Blacks were never a sovereign nation. It is true that we were snatched from African shores. The present fact is that we cannot ask our grandparents to teach us some "native" tongue, or dance or point out our "homeland" on a map. Certainly, we are not

citizens of the United States. Our hopes for freedom then lie in the future, a future which may hold a positive elimination of national boundaries and ties; a future of the world, where a human world society may be so structured as to benefit all the earth's people (not peoples).

To achieve this end, we struggle here inside the United States to get rid of our oppression. Others struggle inside their territorial boundaries to get rid of oppression. The more territory we liberate in the world, the closer we will come to an end to all oppression. The common factor that binds us all is not only the fact of oppression but the oppressor; the United States Government and its ruling circle. We, the people of the world, have been brought together under circumstances. We are united against a common enemy. Today the philosophy of revolutionary intercommunalism dictates that the survival programs implemented by and with the people here in America and those same basic People's Survival Programs being implemented in Mozambique by the Mozambique Liberation Front are essential to bringing about world unity, from Africa to the Black community inside America, developing and uniting against a common enemy. That enemy has rolled up into one large hand the power of the world. If we get rid of this enemy in a united common struggle it will be easy to transform this unity into a common scheme of things. We are not separate nations of men that continue the pattern of fighting amongst ourselves. We are a large collection of communities who can unite and fight together against our common enemy. The United States' domination over all our territories equals a reactionary (in opposition to the interests of all) set of circumstances among our communities: Reactionary Intercommunalism. We can transform these circumstances to all our benefit: Revolutionary Intercommunalism.

On the continent of Africa there are people who look like us. They are Black. We are brothers because our struggle is common. We have both suffered under White racism and under oppression. This is why we should not let the reactionaries of the world be the only ones communicating across the waters and masses of land. We have a common interest to serve, and therefore, we can learn from each other. What happens here affects our brothers in Africa; what happens in Africa affects us. The United States has seen to this. But this is good. We can learn to fight together, though separated.

There is a place in Africa called Mozambique. It lies on Africa's eastern shore, in the southern portion of the continent. It is a rich land, like most in Africa. In 1498 (six years after Columbus' famous "discovery") the Portuguese invader (if you remember, your elementary school books credit him as an "explorer") Vasco da Gama violated the shores of Mozambique. The rest of the troops landed seven years later, in 1505. From that point on the Portuguese have dominated the economy and lives and the culture of the Mozambican people. Their national language became, and still is, Portuguese. To this day, the Portuguese lay claim to Mozambique, referring to "Portuguese" Mozambique.

This, of course, is not in agreement with our brothers and sisters in Mozambique. Mozambique is their home. They are not the invaders. Of course, the people of Mozambique have made many attempts throughout their long history of Portuguese colonial oppression to rid themselves of their chains. However, the most powerful and successful struggle is presently being waged under the guidance of the revolutionary organization FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique). The people support FRELIMO, for FRELIMO is of the people and is organizing struggle in the true interest of all the people. This great effort really began when FRELIMO was organized in 1962, primarily through the efforts of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane. In 1964 the first attack upon the Portuguese was launched by FRELIMO forces, which were by then organized and trained. Since then, armed struggle has been waged heroically by the Mozambican people under FRELIMO. This has resulted in the liberation of three key areas: Tete Province, Niassa Province and the Mueda Plateau. The ridiculous fact is that the Portuguese deny this. They deny the reality that they will eventually be pushed out of Mozambique (like the United States in Vietnam or in our Black and other oppressed communities). Portuguese Premier Marcello Caetano (who replaced fascist dictator Salazar) and his "official" Governor General, Eduardo De Oliveira, inside Mozambique, have consistently denied that their troops are being destroyed, their planes shot down.

Caetano denies that FRELIMO membership alone is more than 100,000; that one quarter of Mozambique is liberated territory; that liberated zones have a population of one million people (of a total population of nine million). He wishes to deny the fact that the people are fighting for and winning their freedom. Our brothers in Mozambique know differently. When I was in China earlier this month,

I had the opportunity to receive and subsequently report to the people firsthand, accurate information. I met with the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Samora Moises Machel, former Chief of the Army. President Machel gave a clear picture: Not only have three major areas been liberated but FRELIMO has established over 200 primary schools, hospitals and other programs to serve the interests and needs of the people. Recently (in 1968) an entire detachment of women fighters was formed. It was around that time that while denying their losses, the racist, fascist Portuguese government called upon their old friends to help destroy the struggle. In these past two years the United States, Britain, France and Germany have played an openly active role in attempting to destroy the people's struggle for liberation. The United States, of course, "helps" most, providing Boeing-707 planes to bomb the people with napalm and all the other life-destroying material the United States can come up with. President Machel told us that in 1970 alone over 128,000 troops of the combined forces attacked, and 63,000 tons of bombs were viciously rained upon the people. However, President Machel said, "We destroyed the soldiers; we shot down the planes."

These successes have certainly not been easy. From within and from without, the people of Mozambique have suffered. After giving guidance to FRELIMO for nearly seven years, Eduardo Mondlane was assassinated by the enemy. In February of 1969, while in his home (in Tanzania), he opened a box which was part of his morning mail. Upon opening the box a bomb exploded in his face and killed him. Naturally, the Portuguese used even the treachery of this murder to try to deceive the people. Soon after this, Caetano's government issued statements that a "left-wing faction" of FRELIMO had murdered their leader. As is familiar (or should be to us by now) the Portuguese attempted to install their own "Man" to lead FRELIMO. They tried to push a native Mozambican, Lazaro Kavandame, popular among the people as the leader of the large (200,000 population) Makonde Tribe into leadership of FRELIMO. As a lackey for Portugal, Kavandame began issuing statements like, "Listen to me well. There must not be a single Makonde Chief sending soldiers to war." He was telling the people not to fight for what was theirs. Also, the former Vice-President of FRELIMO, Uriah Simango, was pushing to take over. They were both eventually defeated.

Today, FRELIMO, under the wise leadership of

President Machel, is guiding the People of Mozambique toward greater and final victory. But today, naturally, the attacks of the combined forces of the United States, Portugal, Germany, France and Britain are even more fierce: constant bombings and many ground attacks take place. However, there is a more intricate, but ultimately more vicious plan in the making, headed primarily by the United States. They plan to build, for the Portuguese, a large hydroelectric dam. The site for the dam is in the liberated Tete Province in Cabora Bassa, along the Zambesi River, bordering racist Rhodesia. Its purpose is to not only give financial aid to impoverished Portugal but to be used as a key part in a plot with South Africa to launch a political, diplomatic and military offensive upon all of Africa. A familiar name to us is General Electric. The General Electric Company has spent millions to aid in building the Cabora Bassa Dam. Altogether, the United States and others have agreed to invest 500 million dollars in the dam, which is capable of producing 18.4 billion kilowatts of electricity. Also, in regard to this Cabora Bassa Dam, late FRELIMO President Mondlane once said, "They say it will enable them to settle one million Whites in Mozambique within 10 years ... to form a great white barrier across Southern Africa."

If we believe that we are brothers with the people of Mozambique, how can we help? We have no weapons to give. We have no money for materials. Then how do we help? Or, how can they help our struggle? They cannot fight for us. We cannot fight in their place. We can each narrow the territory that our common oppressor occupies. We can liberate ourselves, learning from and teaching each other along the way. But the struggle is one; the enemy is the same. Eventually, we and our brothers in Mozambique, in all of Africa, throughout the world, can discuss a world without boundaries or national ties. We will have a human culture, a human language, the earth will be all our territory, serving all our interests; serving the interests of all the people.

Huey P. Newton

(Collected from the Black Panther Party Hdqtrs., Oakland, December 19, 1971. Mimeographed.)

23. JAILED PANTHERS DENIED MEDICAL AID

Behind closed doors, the jail personnel are attempting to silently finish the job started by Chief Davis and his flak-vested hired guns in last Monday's shoot-out with members of the Black Panther Party.

Prison doctors have refused to allow medical specialists from outside the jail to examine the wounds of the Panthers arrested in the shoot-out. In many cases they are refusing even cursory attention to injury by beatings from guards and L.A.P.D. officers at the 77th and Central jails.

On Wednesday of last week the committee of doctors who had volunteered their services to the Panthers called a press conference to issue a statement documenting the treatment that the prisoners had received at the hands of the L.A. authorities. Although cameramen from all the networks were represented, none of them felt that violation of medical ethics was important enough to merit air time on their news shows! Or, perhaps, those fearless "left wing" newscasters had tuned in well on Agnew's warning.

Although all of the Panthers arrested have suffered various degrees of beatings and gunshot wounds, a careful look at a few of the cases will show how much the Los Angeles police enjoy their role of "To Protect and Serve."

Saundra Pratt (bail: \$62,500) was in good health when arrested at the 55th Street office. When she finally arrived at Sybil Brand Institute for Women, she was suffering from beatings and a broken finger. She was refused treatment for several days, and when jail doctors finally put splints on her hands, it was done incorrectly.

According to Dr. Terry Kupers of UCLA Medical Center, when she was finally bailed out private doctors will have to re-break and re-set the finger because of prison hospital incompetence.

When doctors from the committee called the jail for permission to examine prisoners and treat their wounds, Dr.

Krahan, head of the jail Medical Committee, refused to see them and would not return their call.

Paul Redd (held without bail) was arrested at the Central Office, where he was uninjured. He refused to be intimidated by prison officials and began to organize the other prisoners through rap sessions and drawing revolutionary art on the walls of the jail. For this, the guards broke his wrist and threw him in "the hole." He also has never seen any outside medical help as of two weeks after the arrest.

Al Armour (bail: \$18,750) was arrested at the TOURE Community Center, handcuffed and thrown to the ground, where police clubbed and kicked him until his left eye was knocked out of its socket. Then they twisted his handcuffs, breaking his wrist also. For three days he saw no medical aid, and when finally examined the jail refused to allow an ophthalmologist from UCLA Medical Center to examine his eye injury.

The list goes on and on. Gil Parker (held without bail) was kicked and badly beaten after arrest. Geronimo, Deputy Minister of Defense, was also kicked and beaten. When the police found that he had a bad back, they kicked him until he couldn't move, and then refused to take X-rays to see if permanent damage had been done.

After calling the jail over 25 times, the only printable words Dr. Kupers could think of to describe the attitudes of the jail doctors was "absolute resistance."

Marie Branch, a nursing professor at UCLA, is coordinating the attempts to get doctors into the arrested Panthers. She is black and beautiful--a living example of the Panthers' philosophy "to serve the community." At Sybil Brand Institute, Dr. Natali, in charge of women's medical aid, has been impossible to reach as she fights to preserve the old role of a physician to serve those with money and power.

Temmye Williams (held without bail) received 22-caliber bullet wounds in both thighs, yet jail doctors have refused X-rays to this day. The jail also refused to send her to County Hospital, where Dr. Kupers described the health care for prisoners as "at best, adequate." A surgeon, working with Marie Branch and the family of Miss Williams, has been refused admission to Sybil Brand Institute medical facilities.

Dr. Rod Gorney and Dr. Robert Peck have been allowed to see some isolated injured people, but have been refused access to hospital records. Without these records to determine trends in physical conditions, the doctors' observations are worthless in determining treatment. Families have not been permitted to see the prisoners until last Saturday, almost 2 weeks from the shoot-out.

Roland Freeman (held without bail) suffered a gunshot wound that severed nerves in his elbow, threatening total loss of the use of his arm. The medical committee had a neurologist ready to go and see him for a week, but the jail refused to allow him into the hospital wards.

Several prisoners, including Roland Freeman, are suffering burns on the body from tear gas accumulation. From the arrest on Monday until Thursday night, none of the prisoners were allowed to shower, guaranteeing that the tear gas would have plenty of time to burn.

Abuse on prisoners was widespread. To quote from the medical committee report: "Renee Moore was held and forced to have an internal pelvic examination in the presence of male guards (bruises on Miss Moore's thighs where her legs were forced apart were evident when an outside doctor and nurse finally did get a chance to see her)."

Sharon Williams (bail: \$12,500) suffered from a serious kidney disease. The jailers confiscated her medicine, forcing outside doctors to apply pressure to get her treated properly. After 24 hours without medicine, the jailers gave her a new type of pill, which did not regulate her system adequately. She is suffering from a bad case of edema (swelling of the legs) because her system cannot maintain a proper water balance. The jail has refused to send her to County General for treatment and proper medication.

The barbaric medical treatment extended beyond Monday's raid. During the Wednesday night attack on the Panther office, over 30 people suffered injuries. Doctors treated 10 potentially serious head wounds and hospitalized several for observation. They were forced to work in a private home on 42nd St., because the police refused to allow ambulances into the area. If it were not for the cooperation of the home owners in the area, many more people would have been seriously injured. The police "staked out" the home used as a hospital, and attacked several groups of people as they left

later in the night. After clubbing one of the white students from the Valley area, they remarked, "You're not so tough without all your nigger friends."

The most tragic case is that of Mrs. Attaly Williams. She is not a Panther, but she had the misfortune to live next door to the Panther office. Her 5-month old grandchild was gassed on Dec. 8 and is still hospitalized with possible damage to respiratory and digestive systems. While gas affects adults severely, its effect on small children is almost catastrophic. There is an elementary school less than 1/2 block from the Central Ave. office, but the police ignored its presence as they tested their new weapons in their colony.

As the medical report stated, "During this attack the health and safety of the community was ignored as ammunition was fired into homes without warnings and tear gas was hurled indiscriminately, resulting in hospitalization of one baby, and continued ill effects for several families.

"The most far-reaching effect of the continual abuse of the medical rights of the black community has been the cancellation of the opening of the Free Clinic organized by the Black Panther Party and staffed by community and UCLA medical personnel. The office located at 4111 Central Ave., was to have opened the week of the attack on the main Panther Office. Because of continuous teargas attacks throughout the week, and the imprisonment of the Panthers responsible for the construction of the facility, it hasn't been able to open as planned. This Saturday it will open with help from people throughout the L.A. area, even if the doctors are forced to use their 3 VW bus ambulances as examining rooms. The sponsoring medical groups are long on spirit and talent but short on supplies and medicine. They would appreciate the donation of medical and building supplies to set up the office."

(Received from Black Panther Hdqtrs., Los Angeles branch, December 22, 1969. Mimeographed.)

24. FRIENDS OF PANTHERS RALLY ON SATURDAY

The Los Angeles Friends of the Black Panther Party are calling an emergency rally on Saturday, December 20, 1 pm at the First Unitarian Church, 8th and Vermont, to inform the public of the circumstances surrounding the kidnapping and gagging of Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party.

Michael Tigar, a member of the faculty of the UCLA Law School, who was arrested in connection with the trial, will be the featured speaker.

Also on the program is Elaine Brown, Deputy Minister of Information of the Southern California chapter of the BPP. Elaine will sing revolutionary songs from her recently released album, "Seize the Time."

Those who attend the rally are requested to bring used or new clothing for the Panthers' most recent project, the distribution of free clothing to the poor in their community.

(Collected in the Special Collections, University of California at Los Angeles, June 17, 1970. The announcement was distributed December 17-20, 1969.)

25. PRISON, WHERE IS THY VICTORY?

(Huey P. Newton)

When a person studies mathematics, he learns that there are many mathematical laws which determine the approach he must take to solving the problems presented to him. In the study of geometry, one of the first laws a person learns is that "the whole is not greater than the sum of its parts." This means simply that one cannot have a geometrical figure such as a circle or a square which in its totality contains more than it does when broken down into smaller parts. Therefore, if all the smaller parts add up to a certain amount, the entire figure cannot add up to a larger amount. The prison cannot have a victory over the prisoner, because those in charge take the same kind of approach to the prisoner and assume if they have the whole body in a cell that they have there all that makes up the person. But a prisoner is not a geometrical figure, and an approach which is successful in mathematics is wholly unsuccessful when dealing with human beings.

In the case of the human, we are not dealing only with the single individual, we are also dealing with the ideas and beliefs which have motivated him and which sustain him, even when his body is confined. In the case of humanity the whole is much greater than its parts, because the whole includes the body which is measurable and confineable, and also the ideas which cannot be confined. The ideas are not only within the mind of the prisoner where they cannot be seen nor controlled, the ideas are also within the people. The ideas which can and will sustain our movement for total freedom and dignity of the people, cannot be imprisoned, for they are to be found in the people, all the people, wherever they are. As long as the people live by the ideas of freedom and dignity there will be no prison which can hold our movement down. Ideas move from one person to another in the association of brothers and sisters who recognize that a most evil system of capitalism has set us against each other, when our real enemy is the exploiter who profits from our poverty. When we realize such an idea then we come to love and appreciate our

brothers and sisters who we may have seen as enemies, and those exploiters who we may have seen as friends are revealed for what they truly are to all oppressed people. The people are the idea, the respect and dignity of the people, as they move toward their freedom, is the sustaining force which reaches into and out of the prison. The walls, the bars, the guns and the guards can never encircle or hold down the idea of the people. And the people must always carry forward the idea which is their dignity and their beauty.

The prison operates with the idea that when it has a person's body it has his entire being--since the whole cannot be greater than the sum of its parts. They put the body in a cell, and seem to get some sense of relief and security from that fact. The idea of prison victory then is that when the person in jail begins to act, think, and believe the way they want him to, then they have won the battle and the person is then "rehabilitated." But this cannot be the case, because those who operate the prisons have failed to examine their own beliefs thoroughly, and they fail to understand the types of people they attempt to control. Therefore, even when the prison thinks it has won the victory, there is no victory.

There are two types of prisoners. The largest number are those who accept the legitimacy of the assumptions upon which the society is based. They wish to acquire the same goals as everybody else, money, power, greed, and conspicuous consumption. In order to do so, however, they adopt techniques and methods which the society has defined as illegitimate. When this is discovered, such people are put in jail. They may be called "illegitimate capitalists" since their aim is to acquire everything this capitalistic society defines as legitimate. The second type of prisoner is the one who rejects the legitimacy of the assumptions upon which the society is based. He argues that the people at the bottom of the society are exploited for the profit and advantage of those at the top. Thus, the oppressed exist, and will always be used to maintain the privileged status of the exploiters. There is no sacredness, there is no dignity in either exploiting or being exploited. Although this system may make the society function at a high level of technological efficiency, it is an illegitimate system since it rests upon the suffering of humans who are as worthy and as dignified as those who do not suffer. Thus, the second type of prisoner says that the society is corrupt and illegitimate and must be overthrown. This second type of prisoner is the

political prisoner. They do not accept the legitimacy of the society and cannot participate in its corrupting exploitation, whether they are in the prison or on the block.

The prison cannot gain a victory over either type of prisoner no matter how hard it tries. The "illegitimate capitalist" recognizes that if he plays the game the prison wants him to play, he will have his time reduced and be released to continue his activities. Therefore, he is willing to go through the prison programs and do the things he is told. He is willing to say the things the prison authorities want to hear. The prison assumes he is "rehabilitated" and ready for the society. The prisoner has really played the prison's game so that he can be released to resume pursuit of his capitalistic goals. There is no victory for the prisoner from the accepted idea of the society. He pretends to accept the idea of the prison as a part of the game he has always played.

The prison cannot gain a victory over the political prisoners because he has nothing to be rehabilitated from or to. He refused to accept the legitimacy of the system and refuses to participate. To participate is to admit that the society is legitimate because of its exploitation of the oppressed. This is the idea which the political prisoner does not accept. This is the idea for which he has been imprisoned. And this is the reason why he cannot cooperate with the system. The political prisoner will, in fact, serve his time just as will the "illegitimate capitalist." Yet the idea which motivated and sustained the political prisoner rests in the people. All the prison has is a body.

The dignity and beauty of man rests in the human spirit which makes him more than simply a physical being. This spirit must never be suppressed for exploitation by others. As long as the people recognize the beauty of their human spirits and move against suppression and exploitation, they will be carrying out one of the most beautiful ideas of all time. Because the human whole is much greater than the sum of its parts, the ideas will always be among the people. The prison cannot be victorious because walls, bars and guards cannot conquer or hold down an idea.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BLACK POWER TO THE BLACK PEOPLE

PANTHER POWER TO THE VANGUARD.

Huey P. Newton
Minister of Defense
Black Panther Party

(Mimeographed 1-page flier collected from Black Panther
Party Hdqtrs., Oakland, July 22, 1969.)

26. PANTHERS SEEK SUPPORT

For the past several days the Black Panther Party has been working to rebuild its headquarters and reopen its breakfast program and free health clinic. Although the headquarters was gassed both Wednesday and Thursday afternoon, the Panthers and community people have cleaned out the first floor of the offices. There are no windows left anywhere in the building, and the roof has three holes in it from dynamite attacks. Hardly a wall stands without hundreds of bullet holes, and the floors are still covered with tear gas powder. Meanwhile, the arrested Party members are still in jail, and many movement groups are attempting to raise bail.

The Headquarters is badly in need of paint, roofing tarpaper, window repair, and most of all, bail money. The breakfast program was forced to halt for the first time since its inception. While working this Sunday to patch the roof, four eight and nine year old boys volunteered to help us. Before long they were hammering away furiously, nailing boards over the dynamite holes. When asked why they were in such a hurry, one replied, "Have to, I want breakfast tomorrow. Gotta fix this place." We asked what he ate at the breakfasts, and he replied eggs, bacon, and sometimes some "righteous pancakes."

The community support for the Panthers was tremendous as old and young people stopped to lend a hand or a word of support. There were none of the "Peace Keeper" arm bands that Reddin and Putnam have been emphasizing on their shows as symbols of the law and order syndrome. Few colonies have any love for the occupying army.

Lend support to the Black Panther Party. Try to bring down the needed supplies and most of all send money and food for the breakfast program. Collect eggs, bacon, pancake mix, etc. in your community and take it all to 4115 Central Avenue. And while you're there, breathe the gas and see all the unbelievable damage done in your name, as the great silent majority.

The Panthers are the vanguard of the struggle for

justice for all people, including you, and it's time you worked with them in return.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

(Collected from the Third World Liberation Front, University of California at Los Angeles, December 20, 1969. The events cited in the document occurred in Los Angeles.)

27. BERKELEY POLICE DEPARTMENT ASSAULT PLAN
FOR BLACK PANTHER PARTY HEADQUARTERS

The following was the Berkeley Police Department's secret attack plan for Black Panther Party Headquarters on Shattuck Avenue in Berkeley. The editor received on August 21, 1969 a copy of the assault plan from an internal source that secretly photocopied the secret document.

11 Pat
2 Sgt
1 Lt.

1. Assign covering officers to the front and rear of the building. (Left-hand marginal note says: "ABLE - Sgt & Pat, CHARLIE - Sgt & Pat")

a. Two to cover the back

b. Four to cover the front (2 south front, 2 north front).
(Interline note says: "ABLE 1 shotgun 1 Reising Radio, BAKER 1 shotgun 1 Reising Radio, CHARLIE 1 shotgun 1 Reising Radio." After BAKER, the word "launcher" is crossed out. After CHARLIE, the word ".37 mm" is crossed out.)

2. These six men would hold position to keep offenders inside building.

3. Evacuate wounded with covering officers laying down fire base.

4. Notify Captain of Patrol and Chief of Police, Ranking Officer of 4th.

5. Notify ranking officer of Service Division to secure the H of J. (Hall of Justice)

*(handwritten) Notify DD (Detective Division) to stand by for question of prisoners & general investigation.

6. Request that Wagon, Ambulances and Fire truck to stand by in parking lot of Safeway Stores, Russell and Shattuck.

*(handwritten) Notify ACSO (Alameda County Sheriff's Office)

- Request riot tank be sent.

7. Assign traffic posts to divert traffic around scene.
 - a. Not assigned to fourth platoon.
8. Block Shattuck at Prince and at Woolsey with Police cars.
 - a. Use no flares and no personnel left in street.
9. Evacuate nearby homes as needed. (Handwritten note says: "Squad DOG (2)")
10. Order offenders to come out of building with hands up and lay on sidewalk in front of building. (This item is circled.)
 - a. Use bull horn or telephone. (This item is crossed out.)
 - b. If this fails. (This item is crossed out.)

*(handwritten) ABLE CEASE FIRE EXCEPT AT DEFINITE TARGET.
11. Assign two man squad to front with shotgun (solid slugs) and armor piercing rifle to blast armor plate off upper windows. (This item is either crossed out or partially underlined. Handwritten note says: "DOG 1 shotgun 1 37 mm & launcher." The words "1 rifle" are crossed out.)
12. Assign two man squad in front to launch gas through upper and lower windows. (Handwritten note says, "EASY.")
 - a. (Words crossed out say: "One grenade launcher." Handwritten note says: "1. Shotgun & launcher")
 - b. (Words crossed out say: "One .37MM Gas Gun")
12. [sic] Order upper window shields to be shot out, and use 00 buck shot to shoot out all lower windows. Use rifle slugs to try and knock open main front door. (This item is either crossed out or partially underlined.)
13. Notify HMH (Herrick Memorial Hospital) to stand by to receive wounded.
 - a. Post shotgun guard at HMH. --Not fourth platoon.
14. Launch in considerable amount of gas and then again order offenders out by bull horn or telephone.
 - a. Walk out front with hands up and then lay on sidewalk in front of building.
 - b. If this fails
(handwritten interline note says, "A B C D E")

15. Front and back guard lay down fire on second floor. Assault squad (three men) armed with sub-machine guns approach building from the south. As they approach all firing cease. Squad enter building through front broken out windows or doors.

- a. First man cover stairs and no firing unless target is presented.
- b. Next two men enter and move to left and to right center of ground floor. Fire 30 rounds each up through second floor, and reload.
- c. By now all shutters should be blown off upper floor windows. The entire building should be flooded with tear gas. The entire upper floor should be covered with intense fire. This should have the necessary effect.

16. Order those able to walk down the inside stairs to the ground floor, covered by the assault squad. Then they will walk out to the sidewalk and lay face down.

- a. This will be done by bull horn and/or phone.

17. Front and rear covering squads remain in position until told to move.

18. Leave one front covering squad on roof and call the other one down to cover prisoners. Leave back squad in position.

19. Assault squad will then proceed upstairs and bring down the wounded and/or dead.

20. Ambulance(s) will be called in from Russell and Shattuck to pick up wounded and/or dead.

21. Call back squad around to front to assist as needed.

22. One front squad will still remain on roof to cover any attack from the outside.

23. Call wagon down to pick up prisoners.

24. Fire truck called in if needed.

25. Back squad to go to H of J to book in and question prisoners.

26. One front squad go to HMM to guard and question wounded.

27. One front squad will remain on roof until we are clear of area.

28. Assault squad search and confiscate evidence from building.

- a. Call in photographer. (Handwritten note says: "Dig up back yard.")

29. After all others have gone, front squad pull out. This may take considerable time.

30. Assault squad go to H of J to package evidence, make notes, write reports.

31. Back squad at H of J write reports after booking and questioning.

32. Front squad leave HMH and write reports.

33. Remaining front squad leave area, come to H of J and write reports.

34. Fourth Platoon Lieutenant and Sergeants meet to make sure that all has been covered.

35. Fourth Platoon Lieutenant and Sergeants brief staff.
(The remainder of the plan is handwritten)

ABLE--COVERBACK

(2) 1-shotgun & launcher

1 Pat 1-Reising

1 Sgt (The words "1-rifle" crossed out)

BAKER--COVERS-FRONT

2 Pat 1 shotgun

1 rifle or Reising

Radio

CHARLIE--COVERS-FRONT

(3) 1 shotgun & launcher

2 Pat 1 rifle

1 Sgt. 1 Reising

Radio

DOG -- COVER FRONT AFTER EVACUATION

2 Pat 1 shotgun & launcher

137 mm gas gun

ASSAULT -- ENTER BUILDING

43 Thompsons

2 Pat or 2 Thompson & 1 shotgun .00

1 Lt. Radio

(Collected August 21, 1969 in Berkeley, California)

28. EULOGY FOR JONATHAN JACKSON AND WILLIAM CHRISTMAS

Delivered at St. Augustine's Church, Twenty-Seventh and West Streets, Oakland, California, on August 15, 1970 by Huey P. Newton

While it is viewed as a tragedy and many would weep for Jonathan Jackson and William A. Christmas, the Black Panther Party serves notice that it is not brothers Jonathan Jackson and William A. Christmas for whom we should weep. They have achieved freedom and we remain slaves. If we must weep let it be for those of us who remain in bondage.

The Black Panther Party will follow the example that was set by these courageous revolutionaries. The people refuse to submit to the slavery and bondage that is required in order to live a few more years on the planet earth. IF THE PENALTY FOR THE QUEST FOR FREEDOM IS DEATH, THEN BY DEATH WE ESCAPE TO FREEDOM.

Without freedom life means nothing. We have nothing to lose but our shackles and freedom to gain. We have gathered today not only to give respect to Comrades Jonathan Jackson and William Christmas, but also to pledge our lives to the accomplishment of the goals exemplified in their actions.

THERE ARE NO LAWS THAT THE OPPRESSOR
MAKES THAT THE OPPRESSED ARE BOUND TO RESPECT.

Laws should be made to serve people. People should not be made to serve laws. When laws no longer serve the people, it is the people's right and the people's duty to free themselves from the yoke of such laws.

Oppressed people in general, and Black people in particular, have suffered too long and we must draw the line somewhere. There is a big difference between thirty million unarmed Black people and thirty million Black people armed to the teeth.

We are not alone. We have allies everywhere. We find comrades wherever in the world we hear the oppressor's whip. People all over the world are rising up. The high tide of revolution is about to sweep the shores of America, sweeping away the evil gentry and corrupt officials.

Our comrades Jonathan Jackson and William A. Christmas have taught us a revolutionary lesson. They have intensified the struggle and placed it on a higher level.

A picture is worth a thousand words, but action is supreme. Comrades Jonathan Jackson and William A. Christmas have made the ultimate sacrifice. They have given the revolution their lives.

(Collected from Black Panther Party Hdqtrs., Oakland, August 29, 1970.)

29. ATTICA STATEMENT

October 16, 1971

(Huey P. Newton)

So let it be heard:

A short time ago, the prisoners at Attica requested the Black Panther Party to negotiate with Nixon, Rockefeller and Oswald for their freedom. The Black Panther Party at this time asks Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China to negotiate with Prison Warden Nixon for the freedom of the oppressed peoples of the world.

We recognize that the criminal activities of trigger-happy Nixon show clearly that he has no respect for peaceful negotiation when the victim is divided and weak. He not only killed the prisoners at Attica but he also murdered his exploited workers, the prison guards. Although most of the prisoners at Attica are Black and all the guards are White, Nixon killed regardless of color, because they were all victims. When the oppressed people of the world ask for negotiation, such as the Vietnamese people, Prison Warden Nixon shows again he has no respect for the people nor his agents, the U.S. Military. HE LEAVES NO ALTERNATIVE BUT VIOLENT, ARMED RESISTANCE. He is responsible for the murder of Vietnamese people and deaths of the U.S. soldiers. Both the Vietnamese people and the U.S. soldiers are victims of the reactionary Nixon regime. This is why we approached Chairman Mao Tse-tung, because we know of his peace-and-freedom-loving nature. There can be no peace without freedom.

We are asking all the agents of Prison Warden Nixon (whom he despises) to join forces with the victims of the world: The U.S. soldiers to join forces with the victimized Vietnamese people; the guards and the families of the deceased guards at Attica and the guards of the state prisons across the U.S. to join forces with the victimized inmates.

It is clear that Mr. Nixon is trigger-happy and could

trigger off World War III. And because we knew of his impending visit to the People's Republic of China, we asked the Chinese people to receive us first, so that we might ask the peace-and-freedom-loving Chairman Mao Tse-tung to be the chief negotiator to Mr. Nixon for the peace and freedom of the oppressed peoples of the world. And this is why we ask for unity of all the victims against the common enemy, the Nixon-Rockefeller regime.

So let it be done

(Collected from the Black Panther Party Hdqtrs., Oakland,
July 22, 1972.)

30. DEFEND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The Black Panther Party is an organization working for black control of the black community. It conducts its activities openly and legally.

It has been the target of harassment and intimidation not only from hate groups like the Ku Klux Klan, but now from the Indianapolis police and Federal agencies.

On Wed. Dec. 19 Federal agents aided by the racist Indianapolis police department broke into the office of the Black Panther Party allegedly searching for a cache of illegal weapons. When they had finished the office had been tear gassed and wrecked, \$610.00 of Panther funds were missing and NO STORE OF WEAPONS WERE FOUND.

Three members of the Panther Party have been arrested on frame-up charges in connection with the attack on the office.

The Indiana Committee to Defend the Black Panther Party thinks that the real reason for the police attack is an attempt to destroy the Black Panther Party.

Certainly the Panthers will defend themselves against unjust racist harassment from the police and Federal Agencies. The Indiana Committee to Defend the Black Panther Party, representing students, young whites, and clergy around the state, will stand with the Black Panther Party in any defense effort.

We want to let the police know that they cannot continue to conduct themselves like a bunch of plantation owners. The Black Panther Party won't stand alone in opposition to racism and oppression.

Indiana Committee to Defend the
Black Panther Party

(Collected in Indianapolis, June 11, 1970)

31. PETITION STATEMENT FOR COMMUNITY
CONTROL OF POLICE*

SUMMARY OF POLICE CONTROL AMENDMENT
THAT MUST BE ESTABLISHED IN THE CITIES AND
COMMUNITIES OF AMERICA TO END FASCISM

This amendment to a City charter would give control of the police to community elected neighborhood councils so that those whom the police should serve will be able to set police policy and standards of conduct.

The amendment provides for community control of the police by establishing police departments for the major communities of any city; the Black community, the predominantly White area, the Mexican American Communities, etc., etc. The departments would be separate and autonomous. They can by mutual agreement use common facilities. Each Department will be administered by full time police commissions. (Not single police chiefs.) The Commissioners are selected by a Neighborhood Police Control Council composed of fifteen members from that community elected by those who live here. Each department shall have five Community Council divisions within it. (Or number of departments ratioed to population.)

The Councils shall have the power to discipline officers for breaches of Department policy or violations of law. (Against the people.) They may direct their police Commissioner to make changes in department-wide police policy by majority vote of the said department commissioners. The Council can recall the Commissioner appointed by it at any time it finds that he is no longer responsive to the community. The community can recall the council members when they are not responsive to it.

*A major Black Panther Party political objective was community control of police. This document is a petition for such control.

All police officers must live in the department they work in, and they will be hired accordingly.

(Collected from the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California on October 17, 1968.)

32. WORKERS AND FUNDS NEEDED

The Black Panther Party is now in the process of developing an international staff for the international section of the Black Panther Party. We are in need of enthusiastic workers. We need people with skills in filing systems, typing, printing, shipping and receiving. We are also in need of people with language skills, people who can speak French and Arabic. We need people who can function on a diplomatic level in all languages, because at this stage in our struggle we see the need to develop diplomatic machinery for the American revolution.

We have to deal with the same things that other diplomatic machinery have to deal with. The international section of the Black Panther Party is also in need of funds in which to be able to operate. All people wishing to send funds to support the international section of the Black Panther Party can send it to:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Boite Postal 118
Grande Poste
Algiers, Algeria

Telephone: 579-469
Algiers, Algeria

(Mimeographed announcement collected from BPP Headquarters on March 14, 1970.)

33. TO THOSE IN EXILE

We have been separated by the Fascist Pig power structure. It didn't make us weak, we became stronger and stronger. We are your revolutionary women, your other half. We have made our children the People's children. They too are stronger. Warriors worthy of leading the oppressed people of the world to their liberation.

As each day goes on we meet many more strong comrades. Brothers who like you are giving us the strength it will take to combat this Fascist American Society. Sisters who will be in the same situation, or worse, but they will become stronger from each loss of someone so dear to them.

The Fascist Pigs think it's a loss, but we know, "A fall in the pit, a gain in our wit." Fascist greedy Avaricious Businessmen, Lying Demagogic Politicians and Lackey Fascist Pigs, your mountains are down to their last shovel full. We are strong. We are revolutionaries. We are the Vanguard of the Oppressed People and we are constantly making warriors who will make you shit razor blades.

Take one revolutionary, another steps up. We will never be down again. The people are rising like a mighty storm.

ONLY THE STRONG SURVIVE!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Panther Power to the Vanguard
Free All Political Prisoners

Your Revolutionary Comrades

(Collected from BPP Headquarters, Oakland, July 17, 1971.
Mimeographed.)

34. ON THE DEFECTION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

From the Black Panther Party and the Defection of the
Black Panther Party from the Black Community

April 17, 1971

The Black Panther Party bases its ideology and philosophy on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, using dialectical materialism as our analytical method. As dialectical materialists we recognize that contradictions can lead to development. The internal struggle of opposites based upon their unity causes matter to have motion as a part of the process of development. We recognize that nothing in nature stands outside of dialectics, even the Black Panther Party. But we welcome these contradictions because they clarify and advance our struggle. We had a contradiction with our former Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, but we understand this as necessary to our growth. Out of this contradiction has come new growth and a return to the original vision of the Party.

Early in the development of the Black Panther Party I wrote an essay titled "The Correct Handling of a Revolution." This was in response to another contradiction: the criticisms raised against the Party by the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). At that time RAM criticized us for our above-ground action: openly displaying weapons and talking about the necessity for the community to arm itself for its own self-defense. RAM said that they were underground and saw this as the correct way to handle a revolution. I responded to them by pointing out that you must establish your organization aboveground so that the people can relate to it in a way that will be positive and progressive for them. When you go underground without doing this you bury yourself so deeply that the people can neither relate to nor contact you. Then the terrorism of the underground organization will be just that--striking fear into the hearts of the very people whose interest the organization claims to be defending--because the people cannot relate to them and there is nobody there to interpret their actions. You have to set up a program of practical action and be a model for the community to follow and appreciate.

The original vision of the Party was to develop a lifeline to the people by serving their needs and defending them against their oppressors, who come to the community in many forms, from armed police to capitalist exploiters. We knew that this strategy would raise the consciousness of the people and also give us their support. Then, if we were driven underground by the oppressors the people would support us and defend us. They would know that in spite of the oppressors' interpretations our only desire was to serve their true interests, and they would defend us. In this manner we might be forced underground but there would be a lifeline to the community which would always sustain us because the people would identify with us and not with our common enemy.

For a time the Black Panther Party lost its vision and defected from the community. With the defection of Eldridge Cleaver, however, we can move again to a full-scale development of our original vision, and come out of the twilight zone which the party has been in during the recent past.

The only reason that the Party is still in existence at this time, the only reason that we have been able to survive the repression of the Party and the murder of some of our most advanced comrades is because of the Ten-Point Program--our survival program. Our programs would be meaningless and insignificant if they were not community programs. This is why it is my opinion that as long as the Black community and oppressed people are found in North America, the Black Panther Party will last. The Party will survive as a structured vehicle because it serves the true interests of oppressed people and administers to their needs. This was the original vision of the Party. The original vision was not structured by rhetoric nor by ideology but by the practical needs of the people. And its dreamers were armed with an ideology which provided a systematic method of analysis of how best to meet those needs.

When Bobby Seale and I came together to launch the Black Panther Party, we had observed many groups. Most of them were so dedicated to rhetoric and artistic rituals that they had withdrawn from living in the twentieth century. Sometimes their analyses were beautiful but they had no practical programs which would translate these understandings to the people. When they did try to develop practical programs, they often failed because they lacked a systematic ideology which would help them make concrete analyses of

concrete conditions and gain a full understanding of the community and its needs. When I was in Donald Warden's Afro-American Association, I watched him try to make a reality of community-control through Black capitalism. But Warden did not have a systematic ideology, and his attempts to initiate his program continually frustrated him and the community. They did not know why capitalism would not work for them since it had worked for other ethnic groups.

When we formed the Party, we did so because we wanted to put theory and practice together in a systematic manner. We did this through our basic Ten-Point Program. In actuality it was a Twenty-Point Program, with the practice expressed in "What We Want" and the theory expressed in "What We Believe." This program was designed to serve as a basis for a structured political vehicle.

The actions we engaged in at that time were strictly strategic actions for political purposes. They were designed to mobilize the community. Any action which does not mobilize the community toward the goal is not a revolutionary action. The action might be a marvelous statement of courage, but if it does not mobilize the people toward the goal of a higher manifestation of freedom it is not making a political statement and could even be counterrevolutionary.

We realized at a very early point in our development that revolution is a process. It is not a particular action, nor is it a conclusion. It is a process. This is why when feudalistic slavery wiped out chattel slavery, feudalism was revolutionary. The concrete analysis of concrete conditions will reveal the true nature of the situation and increase our understanding. This process moves in a dialectical manner and we understand the struggle of the opposites based upon their unity.

Many times people say that our Ten-Point Program is reformist, but they ignore the fact that revolution is a process. We left the program open-ended so that it could develop and people could identify with it. We did not offer it to them as a conclusion, we offered it as a vehicle to move them to a higher level. In their quest for freedom and in their attempts to prevent the oppressor from stripping them of all the things they need to exist, the people see things as moving from A to B to C; they do not see things as moving from A to Z. In other words, they have to see first some basic accomplishments in order to realize that major

successes are possible. Much of the time the revolutionary will have to guide them into this understanding, but he can never take them from A to Z in one jump because it is too far ahead. Therefore, when the revolutionary begins to indulge in Z, or final conclusions, the people do not relate to him. Therefore, he is no longer a revolutionary if revolution is a process. This makes any action or function which does not promote the process non-revolutionary.

When the Party went to Sacramento, when the Party faced down the policemen in front of Ramparts Magazine, and when the Party patrolled the police with arms, we were acting at a time (1966) when the people had given up the philosophy of non-violent direct action and were beginning to deal with sterner stuff. We wanted them to see the virtues of disciplined and organized armed self-defense rather than spontaneous and disorganized outbreaks and riots. There were police-alert patrols all over the country, but we were the first armed police patrol. We called ourselves the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. In all of this we had political and revolutionary objectives in mind, but we knew that we could not succeed without the support of the people.

Our strategy was based on a consistent ideology, which helped us to understand the conditions around us. We knew that the law was not prepared for what we were doing and policemen were so shocked that they didn't know what to do. We saw that the people felt a new pride and strength because of the example we set for them; and they began to look toward the vehicle we were building for answers.

Later we dropped the term "Self-Defense" from our name and just became the Black Panther Party. We discouraged actions like Sacramento and police observations because we recognized that these were not the things to do in every situation or on every occasion. We never called these revolutionary actions. The only time an action is revolutionary is when the people relate to it in a revolutionary way. If they will not use the example you set, then no matter how many guns you have your action is not revolutionary.

The gun itself is not necessarily revolutionary because the fascists carry guns, in fact they have more guns. A lot of so-called revolutionaries simply do not understand the statement by Chairman Mao that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." They thought Chairman Mao said political power is the gun, but the emphasis is on "grows."

The culmination of political power is the ownership and control of the land and the institutions thereon so that we can then get rid of the gun. That is why Chairman Mao makes the statement that "We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to take up the gun." He is always speaking of getting rid of it. If he did not look at it in those terms, then he surely would not be revolutionary. In other words, the gun by all revolutionary principles is a tool to be used in our strategy; it is not an end in itself. This was a part of the original vision of the Black Panther Party.

I had asked Eldridge Cleaver to join the Party a number of times. But he did not join until after the confrontation with the police in front of the office of Ramparts Magazine, where the police were afraid to go for their guns. Without my knowledge, he took this as the Revolution and the Party. But in our basic program it was not until Point 7 that we mentioned the gun, and this was intentional. We were trying to build a political vehicle through which the people could express their revolutionary desires. We recognized that no party or organization can make the revolution, only the people can. All we could do was act as a guide to the people because revolution is a process that moves in a dialectical manner. At one point one thing might be proper, but the same action could be improper at another point. We always emphasized a concrete analysis of conditions, and then an appropriate response to these conditions as a way of mobilizing the people and leading them to higher levels of consciousness.

People constantly thought that we were security guards or community police. This is why we dropped the term "Self-Defense" from our name and directed the attention of the people to the fact that the only way they would get salvation was through their control of the institutions which serve the community. This would require that they organize a political vehicle which would keep their support and endorsement through its survival programs of service. They would look to it for answers and guidance. It would not be an organization which runs candidates for political office, but it would serve as a watchman over the administrators whom the people have placed in office.

Because the Black Panther Party grows out of the conditions and needs of oppressed people we are interested

in everything the people are interested in, even though we may not see these particular concerns as the final answers to our problems. We will never run for political office, but we will endorse and support those candidates who are acting in the true interest of the people. We may even provide campaign workers for them and do voter-registration and basic precinct work. This would not be out of a commitment to electoral politics; however, it would be our way of bringing the will of the people to bear on situations in which they are interested. We will also hold such candidates responsible to the community no matter how far removed their offices may be from the community. So we lead the people by following their interests, with a view toward raising their consciousness to see beyond limited goals.

When Eldridge joined the Party it was after the police confrontation which left him fixated with the "either-or" attitude. This was that either the community picked up the gun with the Party or else they were cowards and there was no place for them. He did not realize that if the people did not relate to the Party then there was no way that the Black Panther Party could make any revolution, for the record shows that the people are the makers of the revolution and of world history.

Sometimes there are those who express personal problems in political terms, and if they are eloquent then these personal problems can sound very political. We charge Eldridge Cleaver with this. Much of it is probably beyond his control because it is so personal. But we did not know that when he joined the Party; he was doing so only because of that act in front of Ramparts. We weren't trying to prove anything to ourselves. All we were trying to do, at that particular point, was to defend Betty Shabazz. But we were praised by the police.

Under the influence of Eldridge Cleaver the Party gave the community no alternative for dealing with us except by picking up the gun. This move was reactionary simply because the community was not prepared to do that at that point. Instead of being a cultural group we became, by that act, a revolutionary cult group. But this is a basic contradiction because revolution is a process and if the acts you commit do not fall within the scope of the process then they are non-revolutionary.

What the revolutionary movement and the Black

community need is a very strong structure. This structure can only exist with the support of the people and it can only get its support through serving them. This is why we have the service to the people program--the most important thing in the Party. We will serve their needs so that they can survive through this oppression. Then when they are ready to pick up the gun, serious business will happen. Eldridge Cleaver influenced us to isolate ourselves from the Black community so that it was war between the oppressor and the Black Panther Party, not war between the oppressor and the oppressed community.

The Black Panther Party defected from the community long before Eldridge defected from the Party. Our hook-up with White radicals did not give us access to the White community because they do not guide the White community. The Black community does not relate to them so we were left in a twilight zone where we could not enter the Black community with any real political education programs; yet we were not doing anything to mobilize Whites. We had no influence in raising the consciousness of the Black community and that is the point where we defected.

We went through a free speech movement in the Party, which was unnecessary, and only further isolated us from the Black community. We had all sorts of profanity in our paper and every other word which dropped from our lips was profane. This did not happen before I was jailed because I would not stand for it, but Eldridge's influence brought it about. I do not blame him altogether; I blame the Party because the Party accepted it.

Eldridge was never fully in the leadership of the Party. Even after Bobby was snatched away from us I did not place Eldridge in a position of leadership because he was not interested in that. I made David Hilliard administrator of programs. I knew that Eldridge would not do anything to lift the consciousness of the comrades in the Party, but I knew that he could make a contribution and I pressed him to do so. I pressed him to write and edit the paper, but he wouldn't. The paper did not even come out every week until after Eldridge went to jail. But Eldridge Cleaver did make great contributions to the Black Panther Party with his writing and speaking. We want to keep this in mind because there is a positive and negative side to everything.

The correct handling of a revolution is not to offer

the people an "either-or" ultimatum. Instead we must gain the support of the people through serving their needs. Then when the police or any other agency of repression tries to destroy the program, the people will move to a higher level of consciousness and action. Then the organized structure can guide the people to the point where they are prepared to deal in many ways. This was the strategy we used in 1966 when the people related to us in a positive way.

So the Black Panther Party has reached a contradiction with Eldridge Cleaver, and he has defected from the Party because we would not order everyone into the streets tomorrow to make a revolution. We recognize that this is impossible because our dialectical ideology and our analysis of concrete conditions indicate that declaring a spontaneous revolution is a fantasy. The people are not at that point now. This contradiction and conflict may seem unfortunate to some, but it is a part of the dialectical process. The resolution of this contradiction has freed us from incorrect analyses and emphases.

We are now free to move toward the building of a community structure which will become a true voice of the people, promoting their interests in many ways. We can continue to push our basic survival programs, we can truly become a political revolutionary vehicle which will lead the people to a higher level of consciousness so that they will know what they must really do in their quest for freedom. Then they will have the courage to adopt any means necessary to seize the time and obtain that freedom.

Huey P. Newton

(Collected from Black Panther Party Hdqtrs., May 19, 1971. Mimeographed.)

35. PANTHER SISTERS ON WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Editor's Note: The following is an intensive interview with six Black Panther Party women about some of the issues raised by the women's liberation movement and their own experience with women's lib inside the Black Panther Party. The interview was conducted internally by the Panther Headquarters office and circulated as a four-page press leaflet. The reader should note that a large space between paragraphs below means that a different "sister" is speaking.

Interview

QUESTION: How has the position of women within the Black Panther Party changed? How have the women in the Party dealt with male chauvinism within the Party?

PANTHER WOMEN: I've only been in the Party about ten months and when I got in the Party the thing about Pantherettes was squashed, we sort of grew out of it. Then there's Ericka Huggins. The Brothers had to look on Ericka with a new light because she had been thru a lot of things that some Brothers hadn't even been thru. The sisters looked up to her and we all saw what we had to do. The sisters have to pick up guns just like brothers. There are a lot of things the sisters can do to change society.

We realize we have a role to play and we're tired of sitting home and being misused and unless we stand up, male chauvinism will still show itself and be something that's just passed over. Unless we speak against it and teach the brothers what's correct and point out what's wrong, then it'll still be here.

There used to be a difference in the roles (of men and women) in the party because sisters were relegated to certain duties. This was due to the backwardness and lack of political perspective on the part of both sisters and brothers. Like sisters would just naturally do the office-type jobs, the clerical-type jobs. They were the ones that

handled the mailing list. You know all those things that go into details. They were naturally given to the sisters and because of this, because the sisters accepted it so willingly, because they had been doing this before, this is the type of responsibilities they've had before, it was very easy for male chauvinism to continue on. The only examples we had of sisters taking responsibility were probably in Kathleen (Cleaver) or one or two people who exercised responsibility in other areas of Party work.

We've recognized in the past 4 or 5 months that sisters have to take a more responsible role. They have to extend their responsibility and it shouldn't be just to detail work, to things women normally do. This, I think, has been manifested in the fact that a lot of sisters have been writing more articles, they're attending more to the political aspects of the Party, they're speaking out in public more and we've even done outreach work in the community, extensive outreach work in that we've taken the initiative to start our own schools--both brothers and sisters now work in the liberation schools. It's been proven that positions aren't relegated to sex, it depends on your political awareness.

I can remember that when I came into the Party over a year ago, at that time David Hilliard was National Headquarters Captain, and there was another sister in the Party who was the National Captain for women and even though most of the people related to David Hilliard as being National HQ Captain, most of the women related to this other sister for directives because she was the National Captain for women. Under her were sergeants and lieutenants who were all sisters and in their ranks were other sisters. There was almost a separation between the brothers and the sisters.

REORGANIZATION

When that was abolished, when there were no longer any separate positions for sisters and brothers, when we all had to relate to the brothers or sisters who were in the specific positions, there wasn't just a reaction on the part of certain brothers cause they didn't like having to relate to certain sisters, who were in leadership positions. There was also a reaction on the part of some sisters, who because they had to relate to some brothers, because they did not have ranks above certain brothers, they wanted to quit

the Party. So it wasn't just a matter of brothers being male chauvinistic in not wanting to relate to sisters as leaders over them--but it was also the sisters, because of conditioning wanted to continue to submit to other sisters, rather than to leaders of the party per se, regardless of sex.

And I can see since the time I joined the Party that the Party has undergone radical change in the direction of women leadership and emancipation of women. Even though Ericka Huggins provides us with a very good example, it's not so much Ericka and the realization that Ericka poses a striking example. It's the fact that the political consciousness and the political level of members of the Party have risen very much since I joined the Party and because of the fact that we're moving toward a proletarian revolution and because we have come to realize that male chauvinism and all its manifestations are bourgeois and that's one of the things we're fighting against. We realize that in a proletarian revolution, the emancipation of women is primary. We realize that the success of the revolution depends upon the women. For this reason, we know that it's necessary that the women must be emancipated.

IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION

QUESTION: Could you explain what you mean when you say that the success of the revolution depends on the emancipation of women?

PANTHER WOMEN: It's because of the fact that women are the other half. A revolution cannot be successful simply with the efforts of the men, because a woman plays such an integral role in society even though she is relegated to smaller, seemingly insignificant positions.

I think conditions outside the Party have forced us to realize that we have to get rid of male chauvinism. As Panthers, we cannot separate ourselves and divide ourselves and work as Pantherettes, and on the other hand have brothers work as Panthers and expect to present a United Front against Fascism or against the enemy or against outside forces. There has to be unity within the Party. We can't be divided on the basis of sex and we can't be divided on the basis of principles or anything.

Ericka became a good example because the pigs

realized she was a revolutionary. Maybe we didn't realize that, in the sense that we thought about it all the time or brought her up as an example of a strong woman. But, I think the pigs realize that and this outside condition has forced us to realize that we can't operate as two halves, separate, apart from each other--we have to be unified.

VIETNAMESE WOMEN LEAD

QUESTION: You once said that the Vietnamese women were your example. Could you explain more concretely what that means in terms of the struggle of women in the United States?

PANTHER WOMEN: We feel that the example given us by the Vietnamese women is a prime example of the role women can play in the revolution. The Vietnamese women are out there fighting with their brothers, fighting against American imperialism, with its advanced technology. They can shoot. They're out there with their babies on their backs, as the case may be, and they're participating in the revolution wholeheartedly just as the Vietnamese men are participating in the revolution, in the national liberation struggle. The success of their national liberation struggle is just as much dependent upon the women continuing the struggle as it is dependent on the Vietnamese men. So there we see in Vietnam where the struggle today is the sharpest in terms of struggling against U.S. imperialism, the women in fact play the role of the other half--not the weaker half, not the stronger half, but the other half of the Vietnamese men. We hold them up as our example and we hope that the revolutionary women in the U.S. can follow that example and live up to the goal that they have set.

Right now the issue of male chauvinism is rather sharp and kind of out of place. We're starting to talk about it and everybody is sensitive about it--but once women find their place in terms of their roles as revolutionaries and use the example of the Vietnamese women, then I don't think it will be such a sharp issue. I think we'll begin to function and make it very natural for a woman to behave as a revolutionary and not as a subordinate or as a submissive half.

SPECIAL ROLE OF BLACK WOMEN

QUESTION: Black women are considered to be the most

oppressed group in the U.S., as blacks and as women. That special oppression gives them a special, even vanguard role. Do you want to talk about that a little?

PANTHER WOMEN: I think, historically, even at this time, even for women in the Party, to say we want full share and full responsibility is kind of difficult and kind of touchy because of our society. Our men have been sort of castrated, you know. The responsibilities that they rightfully should have had before, were taken away from them--to take away their manhood. We've had to fight all this before. Our men are constantly thinking or saying that maybe if we assume a heavier role, a more responsible role, that this, in turn, will sort of take away their responsibility and it's such a touchy thing, that we have to be very sure that the roles are evenly divided.

It shouldn't have to be one certain role for a man and one certain role for a woman--we're all gonna participate in the struggle and whatever we can do best, we do it, whether it's at a higher level or not. This is very touchy and presents some problems in combatting a specific thing like male chauvinism, because some brothers still have this fear of women dominating the whole political scene. It may not be voiced that often, but I think it's a very real fear, and we're going to have to be sensitive enough to recognize it. We're going to have to be sensitive enough to say that we're going to take more of a share of the political arena, but, at the same time, we're going to have to keep these things in mind.

I think it's important that within the context of that struggle that black men understand that their manhood is not dependent on keeping their black women subordinate to them because this is what bourgeois ideology has been trying to put into the black man and that's part of the special oppression of black women. Black women as generally a part of the poor people of the U.S., the working class, are more oppressed, as being black, they're super-oppressed, and as being women they are sexually oppressed by men in general and by black men also.

So, in this context we see that black women are especially oppressed in this country and it's very important that black man's manhood is not dependent upon the subordination of black women, but rather his manhood is, in fact, dependent on his revolutionary relationship. A relationship is more fruitful when, in fact, the woman is the other half and not

the weaker half. They (the men) get more out of the relationship, just as the women.

UNITY IN STRUGGLE

QUESTION: What are your ideas on the strategy for women's liberation in terms of separate women's organization, the priority of women's liberation in relation to other issues like imperialism and racism?

PANTHER WOMEN: I think it's important that the separate women's liberation groups not all be lumped into one category. Their effectiveness and their value is dependent upon to what extent their work is furthering revolutionary goals in this country. I think that there are all different kinds of organizations in existence now. There are some people who talk about the contradictions among men and women as one of the major contradictions in capitalist society and therefore they take that contradiction (and even if they don't talk about it, some of them put it into practice) and develop it into an antagonistic contradiction, when actually it is a contradiction among the people. It's not a contradiction between enemies.

An example of this is at the UFAF (United Front Against Fascism) Conference where occasions arose from time to time where women would want to have a caucus and a man would come around and they would get very uptight that a man was there and were practically ready to jump on him, just because he happened to be listening around. I think that's an example of how the women's struggle is taken out of perspective--it is separated from class struggle in this country, it's separated from national liberation struggles and it's given its own category of women against men. Sometimes people say, "It's within a revolutionary context," but in practice, if all their rhetoric and all their practice is anti-men, it is not a revolutionary program and, as a matter of fact, it hinders the revolutionary forces.

The contradiction between men and women is a contradiction that has to be worked out within the revolutionary forces. It is not at all comparable to the class contradictions. It's the class struggle that takes priority. To the extent that women's organizations don't address themselves to the class struggle or to national liberation struggles they are not really furthering the women's liberation movement, because in order for women to be truly emancipated in this country there's going to have to be a socialist revolution. And there's going to have to be ideological struggle for

decades and probably for centuries before male chauvinism is overcome. If women don't understand this, they're not going to truly be able to overcome their special oppression.

Roberta is correct and even those women's organizations who do address themselves to the struggles that are at hand, the strategy of having autonomous women's liberation organizations is incorrect because, as Roberta says, it seems as if those organizations look upon women's liberation as a priority when in actuality the struggle towards socialist revolution is a priority. Women can only become emancipated, not through their own efforts as a particular group, but through their participation on an equal plane in the existing organizations which are comprised of men and women who are struggling for the same cause. It's not a separate struggle and women's liberation does not take priority, but in fact is part and parcel of the overall struggle.

FEMALE CHAUVINISM

Any organization that's being formed for women's liberation, like Rosemary said, has got to take into consideration that they can't operate separately and by themselves. They must also understand the definition of chauvinism. Chauvinism isn't just relegated to the male. Chauvinism is an undying or unreasoning or irrational love for one's sex and if a women's liberation organization gets uptight because a man comes around, that's unreasoning and irrational. It's not being realistic and looking at things as a whole in terms of a man too functioning as a revolutionary and a woman functioning as a revolutionary. If they're not careful, they will go to an extreme and they will become female chauvinists. They will have an undying love for their sex and totally negate revolutionary struggle.

Unfortunately, if we don't be careful, I think that the women's liberation struggle can be coopted by opportunists. It can become just like a style or a fad and the whole revolutionary struggle will be set back because of this. This is one reason why the revolutionary practitioners, because of the repression we're suffering, can't take time out to go off by ourselves to solve some of our backwardness. This would be just another dividing tactic as far as I can see.

WOMEN'S LIBERATION IN PRACTICE

I think it's important to recognize the dangers that separate women's groups face immediately, just because they're women's groups and there's a good chance that they're going to get off base in terms of what the primary struggle is. However, I think we have to be very careful in terms of condemning forms that are used in the movement. I think that there is room for special organizing of women. There are positive things that these kinds of groups can do: for example, canneries, special plants where there's primarily women, electronics and this sort of thing in terms of working class organizing, in terms of organizing cooperative nurseries to liberate the energies of women.

But, they are always facing certain dangers in terms of turning in on themselves. In terms of becoming a very petit bourgeois little clique where they just talk about how they have to take care of the kids all the time or become a gripe session. So, I think, while we as Panthers, while we integrate the struggle of the brothers and sisters within the Party, we still will see how these separate women's liberation groups do thru their practice. And that's where our judgment of them will come in.

We have a phrase that says that the only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Now, our culture dictates that we become revolutionaries. Irregardless of what the brothers say, like Rosemary says, we should function in a position that furthers revolution and revolutionary culture. The women's liberation groups that are separating away from the men (I think Roberta said there is some room for them, and we can't vacillate on whether there is or not, we have to judge them on their practice) should take into consideration that we're here to liberate the people and like we said, it's a socialist liberation struggle and we can't operate as halves.

If women's liberation is going to exist, it should exist with the goal in mind to channel the energies they liberate into a united liberation of the men and women together--not as a bourgeois cult, because this has happened many times. They've become extremist organizations of female superiority and have totally forgotten about the people's struggles and oppressed people and have themselves become oppressors.

PANTHER PROGRAMS

QUESTION: Do the Panthers have any specific programs directed at women in the community to get them involved in the struggle?

PANTHER WOMEN: The Black Panther Party does not have any program that is specifically addressed to women, per se. There is, on the National Committees to Combat Fascism, a committee on the national steering committee of women. But the primary function of this committee is to channel those women who are proponents of women's liberation into areas of work integrated into the liberation movement.

Even though the Panther Party doesn't have a women's program per se, (I don't know whether we will in the future or not) I think we realize that the best effort is thru practice and that our liberation is gonna come thru the realization on the part of the brothers that they can't practice male chauvinism, but even more important, it comes from a conscious effort on the part of the sisters to educate themselves and not to accept menial positions or relegate themselves to submissive positions. The brothers can be non-chauvinistic as much as they want, but unless the sisters realize that they have to accept an equal position or act as a revolutionary, then this isn't going to do any good. So I think the best criterion for that is practice.

In addition to that--simply because of the fact that we are members of the Black Panther Party and are therefore in the vanguard, does not necessarily mean that we can deem ourselves champions of women's liberation. We believe that male chauvinism must be stomped out, because we have come to realize that it is bourgeois. Bourgeois ideas are those which are perpetuated upon us by the bourgeois class and is something we're fighting against. But because we've come to realize all these things just recently, we're very new at it. So that whether or not we will become champions of women's liberation, whether or not we'll be able to provide the example to lead other organizations towards women's liberation will come thru our practice.

WOMEN'S CAUCUSES

QUESTION: What do you think about all women's caucuses inside the organization? Some people say that within movement organizations there's male chauvinism and women must deal with it from a position of power, so they should organize their own caucuses. They also say there's a parallel between women's liberation and black liberation and just like black people had to get themselves together without whites first, so women have to get themselves together without men. Movement organizations have always been dominated by men, the way civil rights organizations used to be dominated by white people.

PANTHER WOMEN: I don't know, that sounds illogical to me because you can't solve the problem apart from the problem. You can't be liberated from male chauvinism if you don't even deal with it--if you run away from it. And I think forming any separate organization with that in mind is negating or contradicting what you're setting out to do. I think any type of inside organization that deals with women's liberation should take into consideration that women's liberation is important, but what is primary is the People's liberation. If they want a women's club, those have existed for centuries--they should form that, instead of calling themselves revolutionaries.

QUESTION: One of the arguments that's been made is that the movement has failed to attract a lot of women because of the intimidation that's found in a lot of political organizations. We fail to attract the other half because men dominate. Women have to get together to talk about their special problems in order to involve more women in the struggle.

PANTHER WOMEN: I think our judgment of caucuses, just like independent groups, is going to have to depend on whether or not they forward the revolutionary movement in the end. I mean if their purpose for caucusing among themselves is to make a more efficient organization and if they, in fact, are able to do that thru their practice, then Right On. But if they fall into a trap of just getting by themselves and just complaining about the situation and are unable to put forth a positive program, then that form is not viable. Again their practice is going to have to tell whether or not they further the revolutionary organization PERIOD.

ROLE FOR ADVANCED WOMEN

Also for a person to use the argument that the struggle does not ATTRACT women to the organization, I think, is coming from a subjective point of view. Because if they understand that it's not a women's or a man's struggle, it's not an attraction for a man or a woman, but we're here for the liberation of oppressed people, regardless of whether male chauvinism exists, the women would still come into the Party or movement because they agree or are willing to support the revolutionary principles that exist. If they find male chauvinism, they should be willing to fight it on the basis of principle and unity. And to say, "they're not attracted to it" --there's no advertisement for getting rid of oppression. It's an attraction based on principles, not based on some subjective wishes or wants. So I say that women who say that they don't want to come into the struggle because they're not ATTRACTED to the struggle aren't really interested in the first place.

QUESTION: No, they say the movement doesn't deal with their special oppression.

PANTHER WOMEN: Well, that may be true, but still, if you're interested in the struggle of oppressed people, you can come into an organization and bring that question in yourself, instead of staying away from it. You can fight on the basis of unity within an organization, not on the basis of "Well, they're not dealing with the women's question and they're not dealing with the special oppression of women, so therefore I'm not going to participate." They're still being subjective.

Well, I think that's one place where women who are already advanced are going to have to take a strong stand. The fact is because of objective conditions in this society, women are more backwards, because of their positions in their home, or in school, even working women who are more exposed to what's happening in the world, are still relegated at home and to the family jobs, to the children, etc., etc., and their perspective in terms of the world is more limited. So it's very important that women who are more advanced, who already understand revolutionary principles, go to them and explain it to them and struggle with them. We have to

recognize that women are backwards politically and we have to struggle with them. And that can be a special role that revolutionary women can play.

(Collected from Black Panther Party Hdqtrs., Oakland, Sept. 17, 1969.)

36. A LETTER FROM SISTER ERICKA HUGGINS

Editor's Note: The following is a letter from Black Panther Ericka Huggins in prison. Huggins writes generally of the problem of oppression in America and then specifically of the treatment of herself and other "political prisoners." A copy of the letter was obtained on August 18, 1969 from Elaine Brown, Communications Secretary, Southern California Branch of the Black Panther Party.

July 8, 1969

Long live the United Front Against Fascism! Down with the reactionaries of all kinds!

It is impossible to say what I feel now. It would take too long and the state doesn't offer enough paper. But because none of us can be with you, I will try. I can envision as I write the people that will hear this. I can feel their warmth. The warmth that comrades often have for each other. I can also see the faces of some who always appear among the people--the worried, empty, brutal faces of the agents of fascism. Worried because they know that people, poor people, oppressed people, gathered together for one reason: To analyze the conditions of the oppression and wipe it out. Empty because they have no feeling for the masses of people, for the souls of revolutionaries we have lost, for the starving babies of this country and the world. And brutal because they will fight to the last ditch to destroy the revolutionary fervor of the people. They all continue to run back, oinking to the oppressors about the people's plans to rise up. They fail, however, to realize that the masses have boundless creative power, and no matter how they kick ass, beat us, kill us, or jail us, the people, we will carry on. I see the faces have changed. I hope that many minds are open to what is happening. I know that many ears have been listening to the foul utterances that America spits out at the world. We have listened too long and the bitch, her mouth reeking of death, says, "We have thoroughly oppressed our people at home. We are succeeding at keeping the people of Vietnam in a state of decay. We are tramping on

Africa. We are destroying South America, making bigger and better alliances with Russia. We have only to wait for Mao to die, and we will be the world power. And then we will place our murder on the moon."

America is plotting universal imperialism. It will be the same everywhere. First Coca Cola, then Oscar Meyer Wiener, and then, the troops. The people cannot take this. We cannot allow fascist fanatics to continue to deprive us of our human rights. We must organize and form an everlasting United Front against capitalism, against imperialism, against class distinction, against racism, against fascism.

We cannot allow concessions from the federal government for the continual harassments and unwarranted brutality of the people. We cannot allow our children, be they Black, Mexican, Indian, Japanese, Chinese or White, to be miseducated and degraded in America's degenerate school system. We cannot allow any more lynching, bombing and racial ignorance down South or up South. We cannot allow unions, any longer, to drive the working class--the working class must drive the unions. Our fight must be endless to organize the workers of this country, to overhaul and change every assembly line in every factory. We cannot allow medical services in our communities to remain inadequate. We need more hospitals, more doctors, more nurses, and less insistence on medicinal genocide or birth control. We cannot allow the reformists to clean up the surface while the inner structure rots. We need a revolution! All of our thoughts, each of our actions, should lead us to one goal: the emptying of the shit that fills the bowels of this country. We can no longer allow the senselessness of anarchy and arbitrary destruction. We need no more impulsive, opportunistic movements, groups or political parties that endure on socialistic rhetoric. We need socialism in practice! For example, SDS regulars, and PL in fighting. We need people of all colors who realize the Vanguard of the peoples' revolutionary camp must be the most oppressed, those who always rely on action through tested and proven theory. We must allow no backsliders, liberals, chauvinist renegades, provocateur agents to cause confusion in our ranks. And on the other hand, we have no need for dogmatism and coercive force. We need unity among oppressed people and an understanding of Marxist-Leninist principles so that we may put our knowledge into revolutionary practice.

The future of the political prisoners of Connecticut

and Colorado looks vague at this point. But in times of difficulty we cannot lose sight of our achievements. We must see the bright future for the people and pick up our courage. We realize that there are people that support us and that however long we remain here, we serve as a catalytic agent to move the people forward. I'm trying to speak for all of us; for Landon Williams and Rory Hithe, who were rammed into a hole with no food; for Rose Smith who will bear a child in December, for the isolated political prisoners and for the other prisoners in Connecticut, I cannot know what they feel, but I know that they want to be with the people. I know that their nights are sleepless like mine are because they want to take their places on the streets with the people. I know the New York 21 want to be with you. I know that Huey, the Chicago 16 and all other political prisoners long to be there. I know Papa misses America's congested streets. But we are there in spirit and revolutionary agreement. We only ask that you realize who your real friends and your real enemies are. We must draw a clear line of demarcation between the oppressors and the oppressed, between the imperialists and the internationalists, between the pigs and the people. Who sits next to you?

All Power to the People
All Power to the People!
Long Live the People's Revolutionary Struggle!
Long Live the Minister of Defense!
Free All Political Prisoners

Ericka Huggins

37. ON THE DISMISSAL OF THE CASE
AGAINST BOBBY AND ERICKA

May 29, 1971

(Huey P. Newton)

The dismissal of the case by the State of Connecticut against our Chairman Bobby Seale and our Comrade Ericka Huggins is a clear indication that the might and power of the people is beginning to show. That the judge in New Haven was forced to say, "It is humanly impossible to find a jury," means several things: the State was not willing to spend another several million dollars, a retrial would be so obscene as to cause an even greater and louder demand from the people for Bobby and Ericka's freedom than ever before, and that nowhere could a jury of twelve people be found that would bring back a conviction.

We certainly will be glad to welcome Bobby and Ericka back among us, but we are not so foolish as to allow this compromise to cloud our vision. Bobby and Ericka will be back among the people, but they are not free, the people are not free, and there are hundreds more political prisoners: George Jackson and the Soledad Brothers, Ruchell Magee, Angela Davis, and all the unknowns, all the Black and poor people viciously incarcerated right now in this country's maximum security camps. Also there are the masses of oppressed people throughout the world that are still suffering under the direct or indirect boot of oppression from the U.S. ruling circle.

It is the power of the people and the people only to whom we will be thankful, and in whom our faith rests for the future. Bobby and Ericka have spent two long years in isolated and barbarous prisons. Nothing will justify those years except the victory of the people, Black people, poor people, and all the oppressed people of the world over the fascist, imperialist U.S. empire.

(Collected from Black Panther Party Hdqtrs., Oakland, July 17, 1971.)

38. FROM SWEDEN

Stockholm 17th of July, 1969.

To the Black Panther Party

We firmly support your last step to put Marxism-Leninism into practice by uniting all progressive forces in the US under the leadership of the vanguard force of the black community, the Black Panther Party, in a united front against US fascism and imperialism. We regard this move as a serious setback for US imperialist pig-power structure.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

On behalf of the Young Left League of Sweden
Inge-Lill Walfridson

(A copy of this letter was obtained from BPP Headquarters in Oakland on July 22, 1969.)

39. HUEY NEWTON'S COURTROOM APPEAL

Editor's Note: The following is taken from the appeal prepared by the attorneys who defended Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party. Newton's attorneys moved to have the case reviewed by the Court of Appeals of the State of California.

ARTICLE III. STATEMENT OF FACTS

A. Introduction

At approximately 5:00 a.m. on the morning of October 28, 1967, near 7th and Willow Streets in the City of Oakland, California, in the heart of the West Oakland black ghetto, Oakland Police Officer John Frey received fatal bullet wounds (R.T. 1747, 1753, 1878-80); Officer Herbert Heanes received serious but non-fatal bullet wounds (R.T. 1880, 1886, 1906), and defendant Huey P. Newton was shot through the stomach, the bullet exiting through his back (R.T. 2365, 3125).

The testimony as to what happened at this location between the defendant, black co-founder, Minister of Defense, leader of the Black Panther Party; his passenger, Gene McKinney and the two Oakland Police Officers, both white, the deceased Frey, well known in the ghetto for abusing and harassing black people (R.T. 2771-2, 2814-18, 2848, 2857-8, 2870-81, 2887), was undisputed in part and conflicting in part.

Uncontroverted facts were as follows:

The defendant was arrested shortly after he had arrived, unarmed, requesting medical attention, making no attempt to escape, willingly going into the emergency room after the nurse on duty had called the police in his presence, at Kaiser Hospital in Oakland, California (R.T. 2385, 2386).

The ballistics evidence showed that two types of powder were involved in the shootings: ball and flake (R.T.

2567). Officer Frey's bullets were ball powder and high velocity (R.T. 2567). These bullets were specially purchased (R.T. 2170); they were not the standard flake powder regular issue used by the Oakland Police Department (and by Officer Heanes) (R.T. 2568). It was known by fellow Oakland police officers that Frey owned at least three guns (R.T. 2014).

Criminalist John Davis of the Oakland Police Department, basing his testimony upon police investigations, autopsy examination of Frey, physical examination of Heanes, study of bullet wounds in defendant Newton, analysis of cartridges found at the scene, and examination of the Volkswagen driven by the defendant, as well as his own laboratory work, accounted for five bullets from the gun Frey was presumably carrying at the time and two bullets from Officer Heanes' gun (R.T. 2572). Frey's gun was never found. No gun was found or produced which was attributed to the defendant. The only gun introduced at the trial was that of Officer Heanes (Exhibit 23A).

No evidence was introduced as to how many guns Frey had with him at the time. Neither a paraffin test, nor a neutron activation analysis, nor any other test to determine whether a weapon had been fired was done by the prosecution's criminalists on the hands of the defendant, Frey, or Heanes, although the defendant was taken into custody within approximately one hour following the incident (R.T. 2589, 2595).

Through a tape recording of the Oakland Police Department radio communication system (played at the trial), the following sequence was established:

Shortly before 5:00 a.m. on the morning of October 28, 1967, Frey was on duty alone in his police car in the vicinity of 7th and Willow Streets (R.T. 1803). He observed a vehicle which he stated, over the Police Information Network radio (P.I.N.), was a "known Black Panther vehicle" (R.T. 1802).

Through the police radio communication system, he requested of the P.I.N. operator a "rolling check" on the license number of the vehicle. He reported no moving vehicle violations or any other violations; his conversation with the radio operator contained no reference to anything suspicious or unusual about the vehicle or its occupants (R.T. 1803, et seq.).

The police operator on duty, Clarence Lord, requested of the P.I.N. operator that the latter find out if there were any P.I.N. information on the license number. Shortly thereafter Lord informed Frey that the P.I.N. information was "coming out" (R.T. 1819).

The machinery which transmits this stored information produces a print-out. When there are no outstanding warrants or violations, the print-out states "no record found" (R.T. 1790, 1842). Therefore, information "comes out" of the machine whether it is affirmative (as to outstanding warrants) or negative.

Officer Frey told the radio operator that he was going to stop the vehicle at 7th and Willow Streets after Frey learned that information was "coming out," but prior to receiving the information from Lord that there were two parking ticket warrants outstanding against the license number (R.T. 1804-5). The license number of the vehicle which the defendant was driving (AZM 489) was on the list of Black Panther vehicles circulated by the Oakland Police Department to its officers well prior to October, 1967 (R.T. 1835).

Frey did stop the vehicle, and Lord subsequently did obtain a print-out which revealed that there were warrants outstanding for two parking meter violations in Berkeley (R.T. 1838, 1850). These warrants had been issued by a clerk, not a judge (R.T. 1844, 1850), but were, nevertheless, coded so as to appear to be endorsed for night service (R.T. 1857).

There was no information on the print-out indicating that the police officers had attempted to serve the warrants at the residence of the owner of the vehicle. After Frey stopped the vehicle, he was also told by Lord that the vehicle was registered to LaVerne Williams at 1144-12th Street, Oakland, California (R.T. 1806-7).

B. Uncontroverted Testimony of Officer Heanes.

In response to Frey's radioed request for a back-up unit (prior to his stopping the vehicle), Officer Heanes, on duty nearby, responded to the call and went immediately to 7th and Willow Streets (R.T. 1886).

When Heanes got to this location he stopped his

vehicle, parked it, got out, walked around and took up a position to the right rear of the Volkswagen being driven by the defendant, which was parked in front of Frey's vehicle (R.T. 1888). When Heanes approached the parked vehicle on the driver's side, the defendant, Huey P. Newton, informed Heanes that he was Huey P. Newton (R.T. 1892). These were, according to Heanes, the defendant's first words to Heanes when Heanes approached him (Id.). The defendant did not hesitate; he used an affirmative tone (R.T. 1918). Heanes testified, "He turned right around and he said 'I am Huey Newton'" (R.T. 1917). Heanes did not ask the defendant for his operator's license (R.T. 1918-19). The defendant's valid California Operator's license was introduced into evidence by the defense (Exhibit L).

Heanes had seen photographs of Black Panther members, and he had seen the list of Black Panther vehicles at "line-up" instruction sessions, that Black Panthers had carried weapons openly on their patrols (R.T. 1913).

There elapsed a period of time, perhaps as much as five minutes, after Heanes arrived at the location, during which Frey sat in his police car and spoke on the police radio, and the defendant and his passenger remained seated quietly in their vehicle (R.T. 1917). A chart introduced into evidence as People's Exhibit 9 reflects the position of the defendant's car and Officers Frey's and Heanes' vehicles as they were parked along 7th Street.

Officer Heanes never saw a gun at any time in the hand of the defendant (R.T. 1902, 1907).

C. Disputed Testimony of Officer Heanes.

Heanes testified on direct examination that after the defendant identified himself readily to Heanes, Officer Frey approached the defendant's vehicle, and he, Heanes, had a conversation with Frey, and then Heanes asked the defendant to step out of his vehicle (R.T. 1892). The defendant asked Heanes if there was any particular reason why he should (Id.); at which point, according to Heanes, Frey placed the defendant under arrest (R.T. 1892-3).

The defendant got out of the car and began walking with Frey toward the rear of the police car. Heanes followed to the front end of Frey's car where he stopped.

Frey continued to follow the defendant further on by the police cars (R.T. 1893). Frey was "approximately three feet, three, four feet, behind" the defendant during this walking (R.T. 1893), and as they reached the rear of the third car (Heanes' patrol car), "Newton turned around and started shooting" (R.T. 1894).

At this point, Heanes heard a gunshot and saw Frey move toward the defendant; then he, Heanes, started to draw his weapon, had raised it, and received a gunshot wound in his arm (R.T. 1895). Heanes grabbed his own arm, noticed someone else standing on the curb between the Volkswagen and Frey's car, turned toward him and aimed his revolver at him, but this person raised his hands and stated he was not armed and "had no intentions of harming me" (R.T. 1896). Taking this individual at his word, Heanes turned back around and noticed Frey and the defendant tussling, in actual physical contact, wrestling over the trunk area of Heanes' car (R.T. 1896). Heanes now aimed his revolver at the defendant and fired, with his left hand (R.T. 1897). He next remembers lying in the police car, picking up the radio and calling in an emergency "940B" (Id.).

D. Events Described in Testimony of Sequestered Witness Henry Grier.

Although no police report (of the voluminous and numerous police reports compiled in the case) nor witness referred to a bus, Henry Grier, an Alameda Contra Costa Transit bus operator, testified that he had been operating the 82 line express bus on the morning of October 28, 1967, and that he approached 7th and Willow Streets at 4:58 a.m. (R.T. 2039-41).

When Grier first came by the place where the Volkswagen and the police cars were parked, at that time across the entire width of 7th Street from him (see Exhibit 9), he saw four figures across the street. He noticed that the police officers were dressed in uniform, but he did not notice how the two civilians were dressed, nor did he notice anyone's height at the time (R.T. 2064).

When Grier brought his bus back around 7th Street after making a turn at 7th and Willow and picking up two more passengers, he observed three persons facing him, two of them police officers (R.T. 2044). In contradiction

to Heanes, who placed Frey three to four feet beyond the defendant, Grier testified on direct examination that he observed one police officer with the civilian "sort of tugged under the arm" (R.T. 2045); that as he approached this officer and man "my lights (sic) is directly on him. I could see them very plainly" (R.T. 2046), and he saw the civilian "do this" (illustrating, record reflects the witness put his hand inside his shirt and pulled out something from the inside of his shirt with his right hand). Grier continued: "... and just at that split second out with the gun" (Id.).

Grier testified that there then occurred a struggle between the officer and the civilian he was holding, and during this struggle the gun went off, and the "officer that was walking the farthest behind was hit, and he fell" (Id.).

Under further direct examination, Grier testified that subsequently the first officer was wrestling with the civilian, and Grier saw shots being fired into the officer by the civilian, and he saw the officer fall forward (R.T. 2047). The civilian "that was firing was sort of in a crouched position ... directly behind the officer." This civilian was identified at the trial by Grier only, as defendant Newton (R.T. 2047). Grier testified that several shots were fired and at this time he saw no persons there other than the two officers and the civilian (R.T. 2048-49).

Grier observed these events commencing from either 20-25 feet (R.T. 2070), 10-15 (R.T. 2078), or 30-40 YARDS (R.T. 2097, original police statement). By the time the shooting was in progress, Grier was either 10 feet away (original statement), or 2-3 feet away (R.T. 2080, trial testimony).

According to bus passenger Tommy Miller, the bus was already far past the place of the shooting, and he, Miller, saw the firing out of the back window as Grier continued to drive the bus away from the scene (R.T. 2735, 2759).

Grier observed the civilian pull the gun either from his jacket (R.T. 2097, original police statement), or his shirt (R.T. 2046, 2084, trial testimony).

Grier identified the defendant positively at the time of trial (R.T. 2104). At 6:30 a.m. October 28, 1967, he was not sure of the assailant's identity, even when shown a picture of the defendant and told by the police that the

defendant was Huey P. Newton and a suspect (R.T. 2105, 2124).

Grier stated definitely (original police statement) that the assailant had a hat and not a cap (R.T. 2119). The defendant testified that he had a beret (R.T. 3132). Grier stated at the trial that the assailant was clean-shaven (R.T. 2120). Photographs taken within an hour of the incident showed the defendant to have a very heavy growth of a dark beard (Exhibits C and I).

The testimony of bus passenger Tommy Miller as to Grier's activities during the shooting provided a consistent explanation of these major discrepancies between Grier's original police statement and trial testimony, and his varying descriptions of the differing characteristics (height, size, clothing, hat, face, beard, etc.) of the assailant. Miller testified that at the time the bus was going directly by the place of the shooting Grier was not looking out of the window nor slowing down, but was occupied with digging up change for the five-dollar bill with which Miller paid his fare (R.T. 2733). The prosecution did not recall Grier to rebut this testimony.

At the trial, Grier testified that the assailant had on a light shirt and a dark jacket. At 6:38 a.m. October 28, 1967, he stated it was a dark shirt and a tan jacket (R.T. 2119). Likewise, Grier was positive at the trial that the defendant, 5' 10", weighing 155 pounds (R.T. 2353; Exhibit L), was the assailant. At 6:38 a.m., October 28, the assailant was "short, sort of a small built fellow..." (R.T. 2113), weighing about 125 pounds (R.T. 2119), "no more than five feet" tall (R.T. 2118). At the trial Grier denied that the assailant was such a "little, peewee fellow." "He was not, sir" (R.T. 2100). By the time of the trial, both civilians were "medium" (R.T. 2064).

As is more fully described, infra, at section IV, defense counsel was given a copy of the transcript of Grier's original police statement some six days prior to Grier's taking the witness stand. Said transcript contained the following (R.T. 2118):

"Q. (Inspector McConnell) About how old?

"A. (Mr. Grier) I couldn't say because I only had my lights on, I couldn't--I did get a clear picture, clear

view of his face but--because he had his head kind of down facing the headlights of the coach and I couldn't get a good look--"

After the proceedings and continual efforts of the defense described, *infra*, the said transcript was corrected by order of the court to reflect the actual words which appeared on the dictabelt recording taken by the Oakland Police Department at 6:38 a.m., October 28, 1967. The transcript was corrected to read:

"A. (Mr. Grier) ... I couldn't--I didn't get a clear picture, clear view of his face..." (Emphasis added) (R.T. 3785, et seq.).

There was not available to counsel during cross-examination of the witness Grier the true version of the original police statement.

(Obtained from Alameda County District Court on August 1, 1969.)

IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

June 20, 1967

(Huey P. Newton)

Laws and rules have always been made to serve people. Rules of society are set up by people so that they will be able to function in a harmonious way. In other words, in order to promote the general welfare of society, rules and laws are established by men. Rules should serve men, and not men serve rules. Much of the time, the laws and rules which officials attempt to inflict upon poor people are non-functional in relation to the status of the poor in society.

These officials are blind to the fact that people should not respect rules that are not serving them. It is the duty of the poor to write and construct rules and laws that are in their better interests. This is one of the basic human rights of all men.

Before 1776, white people were colonized by the English. The English government had certain laws and rules that the colonized Americans viewed as not in their best interests but as a colonized people. At that time the English government felt that the colonized Americans had no right to establish laws to promote the general welfare of the people living here in America. The colonized American felt he had no choice but to raise the gun in defense of the welfare of the colonized people. At this time, he made certain laws insuring his protection from external and internal aggressions from governments and agencies. One such form of protection was the Declaration of Independence, which states: "... whenever any government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such forms as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Now these same colonized white people, these ex-slaves, robbers, and thieves, have denied the colonized black

man the right to even speak of abolishing this oppressive system which the white colonized American created. They have carried their madness to the four corners of the earth, and now there is universal rebellion against their continued rule and power. The Black people in America are the only people who can free the world, loosen the yoke of colonialism and destroy the war machine. As long as the wheels of the imperialistic war machine are turning there is no country that can defeat this monster of the West. But Black people can make a malfunction of this machine from within. Black people can destroy the machinery that's enslaving the world. America cannot stand to fight every Black country in the world and fight a civil war at the same time. It is militarily impossible to do both of these things at once.

The slavery of Blacks in this country provides the oil for the machinery of war that America uses to enslave the peoples of the world. Without this oil the machinery cannot function. We are the driving shaft; we are in such a strategic position in this machinery that, once we become dislocated, the functioning of the remainder of the machinery breaks down.

Penned up in the ghettos of America, surrounded by his factories and all the physical components of his economic system, we have been made into "the wretched of the earth," who are relegated to the position of spectators while the white racists run their international con game on the suffering peoples. We have been brainwashed to believe that we are powerless and that there is nothing we can do for ourselves to bring about a speedy liberation for our people. We have been taught that we must please our oppressors, that we are only ten per cent of the population, and therefore, we must confine our tactics to categories calculated not to disturb the sleep of our tormentors.

The power structure inflicts pain and brutality upon the peoples and then provides controlled outlets for the pain in ways least likely to upset them or interfere with the process of exploitation. The people must repudiate the channels established as tricks and deceitful snares by the exploiting oppressors. The people must oppose everything the oppressor supports and support everything that he opposes. If Black people go about their struggle for liberation in the way that the oppressor dictates and sponsors, then we will have degenerated to the level of grovelling flunkies for the oppressor himself. When the oppressor makes a vicious attack

against freedom fighters because of the way that such freedom fighters choose to go about their liberation, then we know we are moving in the direction of our liberation. The racist dog oppressors have no rights which oppressed Black people are bound to respect. As long as the racist dogs pollute the earth with the evil of their actions, they do not deserve any respect at all, and the rules of their game, written in the people's blood, are beneath contempt.

The oppressor must be harassed until his doom. He must have no peace by day or by night. The slaves have always outnumbered the slavemasters. The power of the oppressor rests upon the submission of the people. When Black people really unite and rise up in all their splendid millions, they will have the strength to smash injustice. We do not understand the power in our numbers. We are millions and millions of Black people scattered across the continent and throughout the Western hemisphere. There are more Black people in America than the total population of many countries that now enjoy full membership in the United Nations. They have power and their power is based primarily on the fact that they are organized and united with each other. They are recognized by the powers of the world.

We, with all our numbers, are recognized by no one. In fact, we do not even recognize our own selves. We are unaware of the potential power latent in our numbers. In 1967, in the midst of a hostile racist nation whose hidden racism is rising to the surface at a phenomenal speed, we are still so blind to our critical fight for our very survival that we are continuing to function in petty, futile ways. Divided, confused, fighting among ourselves, we are still in the elementary stage of throwing rocks, sticks, empty wine bottles and beer cans at racist cops who lie in wait for a chance to murder unarmed Black people. The racist cops have worked out a system for suppressing these spontaneous rebellions that flare up from the anger, frustration, and desperation of the masses of Black people. We can no longer afford the dubious luxury of the terrible casualties wantonly inflicted upon us by the cops during these spontaneous rebellions.

Black people must now move, from the grassroots up through the perfumed circles of the Black bourgeoisie, to seize by any means necessary a proportionate share of the power vested and collected in the structure of America. We must organize and unite to combat by long resistance the

brutal force used against us daily. The power structure depends upon the use of force without retaliation. This is why they have made it a felony to teach guerilla warfare. This is why they want the people unarmed.

The racist dog oppressor fears the armed people; they fear most of all Black people armed with weapons and the ideology of the Black Panther Party For Self Defense. An unarmed people are slaves or are subject to slavery at any given moment. If a government is not afraid of the people it will arm the people from foreign aggression. Black people are held captive in the midst of their oppressors. There is a world of difference between thirty million unarmed, submissive Black people and thirty million Black people armed with freedom and defense guns and the strategic methods of liberation.

When a mechanic wants to fix a broken-down car engine, he must have the necessary tools to do the job. When the people move for liberation, they must have the basic tool of liberation: the gun. Only with the power of the gun can the Black masses halt the terror and brutality perpetuated against them by the armed racist power structure; and in one sense only by the power of the gun can the whole world be transformed into the earthly paradise dreamed of by the people from time immemorial. One successful practitioner of the art and science of national liberation and self defense, Brother Mao Tse-tung, put it this way: "We are advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun."

The blood, sweat, tears and suffering of Black people are the foundations of the wealth and power of the United States of America. We were forced to build America, and if forced to, we will tear it down. The immediate result of this destruction will be suffering and bloodshed. But the end result will be the perpetual peace for all mankind.

(Mimeographed leaflet collected from Black Panther Party Headquarters, Oakland, California, June 24, 1967.)

41. IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE

July 3, 1967

(Huey P. Newton)

Historically, the power structure has demanded that Black leaders cater to their desires and to the ends of the imperialistic racism of the oppressor. The power structure has endorsed those Black leaders who have reduced themselves to nothing more than apologizing parrots. They have divided the so-called black leaders within the political arena. The oppressors sponsor radio programs, give space in their racist newspapers, and have shown them the luxury enjoyed only by the oppressor. The Black leaders serve the oppressor by purposely keeping the people submissive and passive--non-violent. At any moment that these so-called Black leaders respond to the cries of the suffering and downtrodden, unemployed and welfare recipients who hunger for liberation by any means necessary, they are no longer Black leaders.

Historically, there have been a few Black men who have rejected the handouts of the oppressor and who have refused to spread the oppressor's treacherous principles of deceit, gradual indoctrination and brainwashing, and who have refused to indulge in the criminal activity of teaching submission, fear, and love for an enemy who hates the very color black and is determined to commit genocide on an international scale.

There has always existed in the Black colony of Afro-America a fundamental difference over which tactics from the broad spectrum of alternatives Black people should employ in their struggle for national liberation.

One side of this difference contends that Black people are in the peculiar position where, in order to gain acceptance into the "mainstream" of American life, they must employ no tactic that will anger the oppressor whites. This view holds that Black people constitute a hopeless minority and that salvation for Black people lies in developing brotherly relations. There are certain tactics that are taboo.

Violence against the oppressor must be avoided at all costs, because the oppressor will retaliate with superior violence. So Black people may protest, but not protect. They can complain, but not cut and shoot. In short, Black people must at all costs remain non-violent.

On the other side of the difference, we find that the point of departure is the principle that the oppressor has no rights that the oppressed is bound to respect. Kill the slave-master, destroy him utterly, move against him with implacable fortitude. Break his oppressive power by any means necessary. Men who have stood before the Black masses and recommended this response to the oppression have been held in fear by the oppressor. The Blacks in the colony who were wed to the non-violent alternative could not relate to the advocates of implacable opposition to the oppressor. Because the oppressor always prefers to deal with the less radical, i.e., less dangerous, spokesmen for his subjects. He would prefer that his subjects had no spokesmen at all, or better yet, he wishes to speak for them himself. Unable to do this practically, he does the next best thing, and endorses spokesmen who will allow him to speak through them to the masses. Paramount amongst his imperatives is to see to it that implacable spokesmen are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. They are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. Their oppressor will resort to any means necessary to silence the implacables.

The oppressor, the endorsed spokesmen, and the implacables form the three points of a triangle of death. The oppressor looks upon the endorsed spokesmen as a tool to use against the implacables to keep the masses passive within the acceptable limits of the tactics he is capable of containing. The endorsed spokesmen look upon the oppressor as a guardian angel who can always be depended upon to protect them from the wrath of the implacables, while he looks upon the implacables as dangerous and irresponsible madmen who, by angering the oppressor, will certainly provoke a blood bath in which they themselves might get washed away. The implacable views both the oppressors and the endorsed leaders as his deadly enemies. If anything, he has a more profound hatred for the endorsed leaders than he has for the oppressor himself, because the implacables know that they can deal with the oppressor only after they have driven the endorsed spokesmen off the scene.

Historically, the endorsed spokesmen have always held

the upper hand on the implacables. In Afro-American history, there are shining brief moments when the implacables have outmaneuvered the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen and gained the attention of the Black masses. The Black masses, recognizing the implacables in the depths of their despair, respond magnetically to the implacables and bestow a devotion and loyalty to them that frightens the oppressor and endorsed spokesmen into a panic-stricken frenzy, and they leap into a rash act--murder, imprisonment, or exile--to silence the implacables and to get their show back on the road.

The masses of Black people have always been deeply entrenched and involved in the basic necessities of life. They have not had time to abstract their situation. Abstractions come only with leisure. The people have not had the luxury of leisure. Therefore, the people have been very aware of the true definition of politics: politics are merely the desire of individuals and groups to satisfy first, their basic needs--food, shelter and clothing, and security for themselves and their loved ones. The Black leaders endorsed by the power structure have attempted to sell the people the simple-minded theory that politics is holding a political office; being able to move into a \$40,000 home; being able to sit near white people in a restaurant (while in fact the Black masses have not been able to pay the rent of a \$40.00 rat-infested hovel).

The Black leaders have led the community to believe that brutality and force could be ended by subjecting the people to this very force of self-sacrificing demonstrations. The Black people realize brutality and force can only be inflicted if there is submission. The community has not responded in the past or in the present to the absurd and erroneous, deceitful tactics of so-called legitimate Black leaders. The community realizes that force and brutality can only be eliminated by counter force through self defense. Leaders who have recommended these tactics have never had the support and following of the downtrodden black masses who comprise the bulk of the community. Grassroots--the downtrodden of the Black community, even though they rejected the hand-picked handkerchief heads endorsed by the power structure, the people have not had the academic or administrative knowledge to form themselves in long resistance to the brutality.

Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X were the two Black men of the twentieth century who posed an implacable challenge to both the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen that

could be dealt with in any other way than precisely the foul manner recorded by history. Malcolm, in our time, stood on the threshold with the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen in a bag that they couldn't get out of. Malcolm, implacable to the ultimate degree, held out to the Black masses the historical, stupendous victory of Black collective salvation and liberation from the chains of the oppressor and the treacherous embrace of the endorsed spokesmen. Only with the gun were the black masses denied this victory. But they learned from Malcolm that with the gun, they can recapture their dreams and bring them into reality.

The heirs of Malcolm now stand millions strong on their corner of the triangle, facing the racist dog oppressor and the soulless endorsed spokesmen. The heirs of Malcolm have picked up the gun and, taking first things first, are moving to expose the endorsed spokesmen for the Black masses to see them for what they are and always have been. The choice offered by the heirs of Malcolm to the endorsed spokesmen is to repudiate the oppressor and to crawl back to their people and earn a speedy reprieve or face a merciless, speedy and most timely execution for treason and being too wrong for too long.

(Mimeographed leaflet collected from Black Panther Party Headquarters, Oakland, California, July 17, 1967.)

42. IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE:
THE CORRECT HANDLING OF A REVOLUTION

July 20, 1967

(Huey P. Newton)

Most human behavior is learned behavior. Most things the human being learns are gained through an indirect relationship to the object. Humans do not act from instinct as lower animals do. Those things learned indirectly many times stimulate very effective responses to what might be later a direct experience. At this time the black masses are handling the resistance incorrectly. The brothers in East Oakland learned from Watts a means of resistance fighting by amassing the people in the streets, throwing bricks and molotov cocktails to destroy property and create disruption. The brothers and sisters in the streets were herded into a small area by the gestapo police and immediately contained by the brutal violence of the oppressor's storm troops. This manner of resistance is sporadic, short-lived, and costly in violence against the people. This method has been transmitted to all the ghettos of the black nation across the country. The first man who threw a molotov cocktail is not personally known by the masses, but yet the action was respected and followed by the people.

The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party are respected by the people, the people will follow the example. This is the primary job of the party. This knowledge will probably be gained second-hand by the masses just as the above mentioned was gained indirectly. When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going into the streets in large numbers, and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerrilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example.

But first, they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the

machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will be overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policeman has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance. It is not necessary to organize thirty million Black people in primary groups of two's and three's but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution. During slavery, in which no vanguard party existed and forms of communication were severely restricted and insufficient, many slave revolts occurred.

There are basically three ways one can learn: through study, through observation, and through actual experience. The black community is basically composed of activists. The community learns through activity, either through observation of or participation in the activity. To study and learn is good but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore it is very significant that the vanguard group first be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the black revolution in racist America.

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is prepared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the black community, the black population.

If it is learned by the power structure that black people have "x" amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to prepare itself with guns, because it is already more than prepared.

The end result of this education will be positive for Black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the

masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party machinery is to be effective. It is impossible to put together functional party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of vanguard groups should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party.

The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational processes. How can you teach people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above ground as long as the dog power structure will allow, and hopefully when the party is forced to go underground the message of the party will already have been put across to the people. The vanguard party's activities on the surface will necessarily be short-lived.

This is why it is so important that the party make a tremendous impact upon the people before it is driven into secrecy.

At this time, the people know the party exists, and they will seek out further information on the activities of this underground party.

Many would-be revolutionaries work under the fallacious illusion that the vanguard party is to be a secret organization that the power structure knows nothing about, and the masses know nothing about, except for occasional letters that come to their homes by night. Underground parties cannot distribute leaflets announcing an underground meeting. These are contradictions and inconsistencies of the so-called

revolutionaries. The so-called revolutionaries are in fact afraid of the very danger that they are advocating for the people. These so-called revolutionaries want the people to say what they themselves are afraid to say, and the people to do what they themselves are afraid to do. This makes the so-called revolutionary a coward and a hypocrite.

If these imposters would investigate the history of revolution, they would see that the vanguard group always starts out above ground and is later driven underground by the aggressor. The Cuban Revolution exemplifies this fact; when Fidel Castro started to resist the butcher Batista and the American running dogs, he started by speaking on the campus of the University of Havana in public. He was later driven to the hills. His impact upon the dispossessed people of Cuba was very great and received with much respect. When he went into secrecy, Cuban people searched him out. People went to the hills to find him and his band of twelve. Castro handled the revolutionary struggle correctly. If the Chinese Revolution is investigated, it will be seen that the Communist Party was quiet on the surface so that they would be able to muster support from the masses. There are many areas one can read about to learn the correct approach, Fanon's *THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH*, the Russian Revolution, the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and a host of others.

A revolutionary must realize that if he is sincere, death is imminent due to the fact that the things he is saying and doing are extremely dangerous. Without this realization, it is impossible to proceed as a revolutionary. The masses are constantly looking for a guide, a Messiah, to liberate them from the hands of the oppressor. The vanguard party must exemplify the characteristics of worthy leadership. Millions and millions of oppressed people might not know members of the vanguard party personally or directly, but they will gain through an indirect acquaintance the proper strategy for liberation via the mass media and the physical activities of the party. It is of prime importance that the vanguard party develop a political organ, such as a newspaper produced by the party, as well as employ strategically revolutionary art and destruction of the oppressor's machinery. For example, Watts. The economy and property of the oppressor was destroyed to such an extent that no matter how the oppressor tried to whitewash the activities of the black brothers, the real nature and the real cause of the activity was communicated to every black community. For further

example, no matter how the oppressor tries to distort and confuse the message of Brother Stokely Carmichael, Black people all over the country understand it perfectly and welcome it.

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense teaches that in the final analysis, the amount of guns and defense weapons, such as hand grenades, bazookas, and other necessary equipment, will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure, as exemplified by the Viet Cong. Therefore, the greater the military preparation on the part of the oppressor, the greater is the availability of weapons for the black community. It is believed by some hypocrites that when the people are taught by the vanguard group to prepare for resistance, this only brings the man down on them with increasing violence and brutality; but the fact of the matter is that when the man becomes more oppressive, this only heightens the revolutionary fervor. The people never make revolution. The oppressors by their brutal actions cause the resistance by the people. The vanguard party only teaches the correct methods of resistance. So, if things can get worse for oppressed people, then they will feel no need for revolution or resistance. The complaint of the hypocrites that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense is exposing the people to deeper suffering is an incorrect observation. People have proved that they will not tolerate any more oppression by the racist dog police through their rebellions in the black communities across the country. The people are looking now for guidance to extend and strengthen their resistance struggle.

(Mimeographed leaflet collected from BPP Hdqtrs., Oakland, August 3, 1967.)

43. TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

An Address Delivered to the Plenary Session
in Philadelphia, Pa., September 5, 1970.

(Huey P. Newton)

Two centuries ago the United States was a new nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The conditions which prevailed in the nation and the assumptions upon which its foundations were built ensured that the United States would come to its maturity under circumstances which required that the life of a substantial proportion of its citizens be nothing more than a prison of poverty, and happiness nothing more than laughing to keep from crying.

The United States of America was born at a time when the nation covered relatively little land, a narrow strip of political divisions on the Eastern seaboard. The United States of America was born at a time when the population was small and fairly homogeneous both racially and culturally. Thus the people called Americans were a different people in a different place. Furthermore, they had a different economic system. The small population and the fertile land available meant that with the agricultural emphasis on the economy, people were able to advance according to their motivation and ability. It was an agricultural economy and with the circumstances surrounding it Democratic Capitalism flourished in the new nation.

The following years were to see this new nation rapidly develop into a multi-limbed giant. The new nation acquired land and spread from a narrow strip on the Eastern seaboard to cover almost the entire continent. The new nation acquired a population to fill this newly acquired land. This population was drawn from the continents of Africa, Asia, Europe and South America. Thus a nation conceived by homogeneous people of a small number and in a small area grew into a nation of heterogeneous people, comprising a large number and spread across an entire continent. This

change in the fundamental characteristics of the nation and its people substantially changed the nature of American society. Furthermore, the social changes were marked by economic changes. A rural and agricultural economy became an urban and industrialized economy, as farming was replaced by manufacturing. The Democratic Capitalism of our early days became caught up in a relentless drive to obtain profits until the selfish motivation for profit eclipsed the unselfish principles of democracy. Thus 200 years later we have an overdeveloped economy which is so infused with the need for profit that we have replaced Democratic Capitalism with Bureaucratic Capitalism. The free opportunity of all men to pursue their economic ends has been replaced by constraints (confinement) placed upon Americans by the large corporations which control and direct our economy. They have sought to increase their profits at the expense of the people, and particularly at the expense of the racial and ethnic minorities.

The history of the United States, as distinguished from the promise of the idea of the United States, leads us to the conclusion that our sufferance is basic to the functioning of the government of the United States. We see this when we note the basic contradictions found in the history of this nation. The government, the social conditions, and the legal documents which brought freedom from oppression, which brought human dignity and human rights to one portion of the people of this nation, had entirely opposite consequences for another portion of the people. While the majority group achieved their basic human rights, the minorities achieved alienation from the lands of their fathers and slavery. The evidence for this is clear and incontrovertible.

We find evidence for majority freedom and minority oppression in the fact that the expansion of the United States Government and the acquisition of lands was at the unjust expense of the American Indians, who are the original possessors of the land and still its legitimate heirs. The long march of the Cherokees on the "Trail of Tears" and the actual disappearance of many other Indian nations testify to the unwillingness and inability of this government and this government's Constitution to incorporate racial minorities.

We find evidence for majority freedom and minority oppression in the fact that even while the early settlers were proclaiming their freedom, they were deliberately and systematically depriving Africans of their freedom. These basic

contradictions were further exacerbated (made angry) by acts which implicitly admitted that the majority was wrong but unwilling to do right. Thus when the Declaration of Independence was drafted, the Founding Fathers considered the slave as equivalent to three-fifths of a man. Thus when the slaves were emancipated the descendants of the Founding Fathers compromised that freedom to gain further territory. These compromises were so basic to the thinking of our forebears that legal attempts to correct the contradictions through Constitutional amendments and civil-rights laws have produced no change in our condition. We are still a people without equal protection and due process of law. We recognize then that the oppressive acts of the United States Government when contrasted with the testaments of freedom, carry forward a basic contradiction found in all the legal documents upon which this government is based.

Generation after generation of the majority group have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in the life, liberty and happiness of their children and grandchildren. Generation after generation of Black people in America have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in life, liberty, and happiness of the children and grandchildren of their oppressors, while their own descendants wallow in the mire of poverty and deprivation, holding only to the hope of change in the future. This hope has sustained us for many years and has led us to suffer the administrations of a corrupt government. At the dawn of the twentieth century this hope led us to formulate a civil-rights movement in the belief that this government would eventually fulfill its promise to Black people. We did not recognize, however, that any attempt to complete the promise of an eighteenth-century revolution in the framework of a twentieth-century government was doomed to failure. The descendants of that small company of original settlers of this land are not among the common people of today, they have become a small ruling class in control of a world-wide economic system. The Constitution set up by their ancestors to serve the people no longer does so, for the people have changed. The people of the eighteenth century have become the ruling class of the twentieth century, and the people of the twentieth century are the descendants of the slaves and dispossessed of the eighteenth century. The Constitution set up to serve the people of the eighteenth century now serves the ruling class of the twentieth century, and the people of today stand waiting for a foundation of their own life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. The Civil-Rights

Movement has not produced this foundation, and it cannot produce this foundation because of the nature of the United States society and economy. The vision of the Civil-Rights Movement is to achieve goals which have been altered by 200 years of change. Thus the Civil-Rights Movement and similar movements have produced no foundation for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They have produced humiliating programs of welfare and unemployment compensation, programs with sufficient form to deceive the people but with insufficient substance to change the fundamental distribution of power and resources in this country.

Moreover, while these movements attempt to get minorities into the system, we note that the government continues its pattern of practices which contradict its democratic rhetoric. We recognize now that we see history repeating itself, but on an international as well as national scale. The relentless drive for profit led this nation to colonize, oppress, and exploit its minorities. This profit drive took this nation from democratic capitalism and underdevelopment to bureaucratic capitalism and overdevelopment. Now we see that this small ruling class continues its profit drive by oppressing and exploiting the peoples of the world. Throughout the world the lumpenproletariat is crushed so that the profits of American industry can continue to flow. Throughout the world the freedom struggles of oppressed people are opposed by this government because they are a threat to bureaucratic capitalism in the United States of America.

We gather here to let it be known at home and abroad that a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness has in its maturity become an imperialist power dedicated to death, oppression and the pursuit of profits. We will not be deceived by so many of our fellow men, we will not be blinded by small changes in form which lack any change in the substance of imperialist expansion. Our suffering has been too long, our sacrifices have been too great, and our human dignity is too strong for us to be prudent any longer.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM AND
THE POWER TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT
FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR AN END TO THE CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION OF OUR COMMUNITY.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR DECENT HOUSING FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A TRUE EDUCATION OF OUR PEOPLE.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR EXEMPTION FROM MILITARY SERVICE.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR AN END TO POLICE BRUTALITY.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FAIR TRIALS FOR ALL MEN BY A JURY OF THEIR PEERS.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE TO DETERMINE THE WILL OF THE BLACK PEOPLE AS TO THEIR NATIONAL DESTINY.

Black people and oppressed people in general have lost faith in the leaders of America, in the government of America, and in the very structure of American Government (that is, the Constitution, its legal foundation). This loss of faith is based upon the overwhelming evidence that this government will not live according to that Constitution because the Constitution is not designed for its people. For this reason we assemble a Constitutional Convention to consider rational and positive alternatives. Alternatives which will place their emphasis on the common man. Alternatives which will bring about a new economic system in which the rewards as well as the work will be equally shared by all people--a Socialist framework in which all groups will be adequately represented in the decision making and administration which affects their lives. Alternatives which will guarantee that all men will attain their full manhood rights, that they will be able to live, be free, and seek out those goals which give them respect and dignity while permitting the same privileges for every other man regardless of his condition or status.

The sacredness of man and of the human spirit requires that human dignity and integrity ought to be always respected by every other man. We will settle for nothing less, for at this point in history anything less is but a living

death. WE WILL BE FREE and we are here to ordain a new Constitution which will ensure our freedom by enshrining (cherishing) the dignity of the human spirit.

(Collected from the Black Panther Headquarters, Oakland, December 17, 1970. Mimeo.)

44. TO THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

September 13, 1969

(Huey P. Newton)

Editor's Note: The Republic of New Africa is a separatist organization advocating the founding of a black nation. The new nation is to be located in several Southern States. The leader of this movement is Robert Williams.

Newton's Statement

Greetings to the Republic of New Africa and President Robert Williams. I'm very happy to be able to welcome you back home. I might add that this is perfect timing. We need you very much, the people need you very much. And now that the consciousness of the people is at such a high level, perhaps they will be able to appreciate your leadership, and also be ready to move in a very revolutionary fashion.

Some time ago I received a message from the Republic of New Africa with a series of questions concerning the philosophy of the Black Panther Party. At that time I wasn't prepared to send a message out. I have had to think about many of the questions, and due to the situation here it is very difficult for me to communicate, so this explains the lapse in time between question and answer. I will not be able to expound on all the questions but I would like to give some general explanations of the Black Panther Party's position as related to the Republic of New Africa.

The Black Panther Party's position is that the Black people in this country are definitely colonized, and suffer from the colonial plight more than any ethnic group in the country. Perhaps there is the exception of the Indian, but surely as much even as the Indian population. We, too, realize that the American people in general are colonized. And they are colonized simply because they are under a capitalist society which has a small clique of rulers who own

the means of production and control all decision making. They are the body, therefore, that takes the freedom from the American people in general to enrich their own class. As far as Blacks are concerned, of course, we are at the very bottom of this ladder. We are exploited not only by the small group of the ruling class, we are oppressed and repressed by even the working-class Whites in the country. This is simply because the ruling class, the White ruling class, uses the old Roman policy of divide and conquer. In other words, the White working class is used as pawns or tools of the ruling class, but they too are enslaved. So it is with that historical policy of dividing and ruling that the ruling class can effectively and successfully keep the majority of the people in an oppressed position. This is because they are divided in certain interest groups, even though these "interests" of the lower-class groups are not necessarily of any real benefit to them.

As far as our stand on separation, we have demanded, as you well know, a plebiscite that the U.N. is to supervise, so that Blacks can decide whether they want to secede from the union or take another position. As far as the Black Panther Party is concerned we are subject to the will of the majority of the people, but we feel that the people should have this choice, and we feel that the Republic of New Africa is perfectly justified in demanding and declaring the right to secede from the nation. So we don't have any contradiction between the Black Panther Party's position and the Republic of New Africa's position; it is simply a matter of timing. We feel that certain conditions will have to exist before we are even given the right to make that choice. We also take into consideration the fact that if Blacks at this very minute were able to secede from the union, and say have five or six states, it would be almost impossible to function in freedom side by side with a capitalist imperialistic country. We all know that Mother Africa is not free simply because of imperialism, because of Western domination. And there is no indication that it would be any different if we were to have a separate country here in North America. As a matter of fact, by all logics, we would suffer imperialism and colonialism even more so than the Third World is suffering it now. They are geographically better located, thousands of miles away, but yet they are not able to be free simply because of high technological development of the West that makes the world so much smaller, in fact, one small neighborhood.

So taking all these things into consideration, we

conclude that the only way that we are going to be free is to wipe out once and for all the oppressive structure of America. We realize we cannot do this without a popular struggle, without many alliances and coalitions, and this is the reason that we are moving in the direction that we are, to get as many alliances as possible of people that are equally dissatisfied with the system. Also we are carrying on, or attempting to carry on, a political education campaign so that the people will be aware of the conditions and learn ways to control these conditions. We think that the most important thing at this time is to be able to organize in some fashion so that we will have a formidable force to challenge the structure of the American empire. So we invite the Republic of New Africa to struggle with us, because we know from people with whom I have talked (May Mallory, and other people who are familiar with the philosophy of the Republic of New Africa) that they seem to be very aware that the whole structure of America will have to be changed in order for the people of America to be free. (And this again is with the full knowledge and the full view of the end goal of the Republic of New Africa to secede.) In other words, we are not really handling the question at this time because we feel that it is somewhat premature, though I realize the psychological value of fighting for a territory. But at this time the Black Panther Party feels that we do not want to be in an enclave-type situation where we would be more isolated than we already are now. We are isolated in the ghetto area, concentrated in the North, in the metropolitan areas, in the industrial areas, and we think this is a very good location as far as strategy is concerned in waging a strong battle against the established order. And again I think that it would be perfectly justified if Blacks decided that they wanted to secede from the union, but I think the question should be left up to the popular masses, the popular majority. So this is it in a nutshell.

As I said before, I don't have the facilities here to carry on long discussions. I look forward to talking with Milton Henry in the near future if it is possible (I know that he has his hands full now) or representatives of the Republic of New Africa. There are many things I heard, things I read, that I'm in total agreement with. I would like for the Republic of New Africa to know that we support Robert Williams and his plight at this time; that we support him one hundred percent, and we're willing to give all services asked of us. Also we would like to find out exactly what we can do to be most helpful in the court proceedings coming up, what moral support we could give. Perhaps we could send some

representatives; and we will publish in our newspaper, The Black Panther, the criminal activities that he has been victim of for some eight or nine years. I would also like to request of the Republic of New Africa to give us some support for Bobby Seale, our Chairman of the Black Panther Party. Bobby Seale is now in prison, as you know, in San Francisco. He has a case coming up in Chicago, and one in Connecticut, and we invite the Republic of New Africa to come in support. We would like this very much, and whatever moral support they could possible give, we would welcome.

We should be working closer together than we are and perhaps this would be an issue that we could work together on. This issue is the political prisoners of America. And since people as one stand for the release of all political prisoners, this might be a rallying point for all of the Black revolutionary organizations and parties. Because I truly believe that some good comes out of every attack that the oppressor makes, and this will be a turning point in both of our organizations and parties. So I would like to say, "ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE, AND MORE POWER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA, ROBERT WILLIAMS."

(Mimeographed statement collected from Black Panther Party Hdqtrs., Oakland, October 11, 1969.)

45. BLACK PANTHER PARTY
THREE MAIN RULES OF DISCIPLINE

Note: The Black Panthers adopted the following rules directly from page 266 of Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Rule three was slightly revised from Mao's original "Turn in everything captured."

1. Obey orders in all your actions.
2. Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the 'poor and oppressed' masses.
3. Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.

(Collected from the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California on January 22, 1969.)

46. BLACK PANTHER PARTY
EIGHT POINTS OF ATTENTION

Note: These eight points are quotations from the Chinese Communist "little red book" entitled Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The original eight points appear on page 256 of the book under the heading "Discipline." Please note that in point 6, Mao states, "Do not damage crops." The Panthers added the term "property" and referred to the "poor, oppressed masses" in order to adapt the point to an urban context. In point 8, Mao states, "Do not ill-treat captives." The Panthers have reworded this point. The other points remain identical to those in the little red book.

1. Speak politely.
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Do not hit or swear at people.
6. Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
7. Do not take liberties with women.
8. If we ever have to take captives, do not ill treat them.

(Collected from the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California on January 22, 1969.)

47. INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE
TO DEFEND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Note: The Black Panther Party revealed on October 26, 1968 that a campaign to aid Eldridge Cleaver to avoid serving a prison sentence would be spearheaded by an "International Committee to Keep Eldridge Cleaver Out of Prison." It called for one million signatures on the following petition:

Only the people in mass can destroy racism in the United States of America. So we the undersigned who are citizens of America and peoples around the world, DEMAND, THAT ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party; Candidate for President of the United States of America on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket; author of the book, SOUL ON ICE; and managing editor for Ramparts Magazine, we say and demand that he, Eldridge Cleaver, should not be sent back to prison after being released from prison by Judge Sherwin of Solano County in California. Released because the Judge stated that Eldridge then was being held as a "political prisoner." ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is now out of prison on legal bail. We the undersigned say that the California Governor with his "Adult Authority," and the courts of California and the federal courts of the U.S.A. had better recognize that everyone is innocent until proven guilty with the right to bail before trial, that this is every human being's right by the United States Constitution including Eldridge Cleaver.

(Collected from Black Panther James Williams in Oakland, California on November 11, 1968.)

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